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Art. I. *The History of England*, from the first Invasion by the Romans, to the Accession of Mary. By the Rev. John Lingard. 4to. Vols. I. to IV. pp. 2274. London. 1819—20.

THE *opus magnum* of an adequate history of England remains yet to be achieved. To the several attempts which have hitherto been made to accomplish this herculean labour, attach either literary imperfections or objections of a still more serious kind. Rapin, indeed, though a tedious, is a faithful chronicler, and in perusing his heavy narrative, we feel a confidence in the impartiality and general accuracy of the historian, which the lively pages of Hume fail to inspire. Of the two, the foreigner is the most of an Englishman in feeling: the servile principles and anti-Christian bigotry of the apologist for the Stuarts, disqualified him to do justice to the history of his country. The valuable work of Dr. Henry cannot be considered as supplying this *desideratum* in our literature, since it is an imperfect history. Of Mr. Sharon Turner's volumes, we shall have occasion hereafter to speak more fully: as far as they go, they claim to be regarded as highly valuable contributions to our historical library; but they do not affect the accuracy of the affirmation, that the writer who should combine all the requisites for success in the evolution of this 'great argument,' has not yet appeared. Among those requisites, antecedently to all the intellectual preparation which is necessary for the undertaking, a freedom from party prejudice would seem to be a primary qualification; and yet this is perhaps the least likely to be realized. The Protestant, it may be admitted, is liable to have his decisions on some points warped by his jealousy of ecclesiastical domination: he may not make due allowance for the errors of a darker age, or he may receive with too easy a credulity the injurious statements of party writers on the side of the Reformed faith. From a Romanist, however liberal, the text of history will be likely to receive a

gloss which shall be still more at variance with fairness and accuracy. Those great transactions from which the civil and religious institutions of our country have derived much of their present aspect and character, it would be scarcely possible for a zealous member of the Romish Church to exhibit in a just light, or in all their bearings. Without imputing to the Roman Catholics of this country in the present day a larger share of religious bigotry than to other denominations, we must be allowed to question whether they could furnish an historian perfectly competent and disposed to do justice to the authors or instruments of the English Reformation. We cannot concede to them as Roman Catholics an exemption from the partialities common to men; nor can we forget that there are certain prejudices immediately and inseparably connected with the narrow, exclusive, and intolerant spirit and dogmas of their ecclesiastical system.

Mr. Lingard is, we can have no doubt, a person of upright and honourable intentions. His knowledge and ability are signally evinced in his performance. But the influence of his professional prejudices as a Roman Catholic clergyman, is visible at every step. The history of England in his hands, assumes, in many parts, an aspect altogether novel. Instead of the encroachments of unprincipled ecclesiastics, we have presented to us the patient and unmerited sufferings of aggrieved and innocent men; and where we have been accustomed to track the footsteps of the persecutor and the oppressor, we are invited to witness the movements of the benignant instructors and benefactors of mankind. We will not impute artifice and disingenuousness of intention to the dexterity with which this colouring is given to the facts alluded to. But the good faith and veracity of the Historian cannot be conceded without implicating his competency to the task he has undertaken. Perversions of historic verity so palpable, not to be chargeable on design, must have originated in a most lamentable strength of prejudice. It would be an interminable task, to point out all the misrepresentations which we have found in those sections of the work which relate to ecclesiastical affairs; and we must, perforce, content ourselves with a few illustrations of this systematic sacrifice of candour to the spirit of party.

The disputes in which, towards the close of the seventh century, king Egfrid, archbishop Theodore, and bishop Wilfrid were the chief parties, form the centre of a mass of facts and inferences which claim peculiar notice as supplying important and emphatic evidence of a determined spirit of interference and encroachment on the part of Rome and her suffragans. Yet, we are pithily informed by the present Writer, that they occupy a 'disproportionate space in our modern

'histories.' It may well suit Mr. Lingard's purpose to despatch these matters lightly, and to speak of them as having derived 'an adventitious interest' from the influence of 'religious prejudice'; but he cannot be permitted thus to alter the character of substantial facts, nor to attest his own exemption from the bigotry which he imputes to others.

But that portion of Mr. Lingard's work which chronicles the rare deservings of the notorious and canonized Dunstan, affords a still more conspicuous instance of prejudice and perversion. That name has always been associated in our minds with other feelings than those of veneration. We have been accustomed, on the credit of current history, to consider its possessor as a fierce and ambitious man, employing, without scruple, artifice and violence to attain his ends, and recklessly treading down all that stood in his way to elevation and power. In the ingenuous pages of Mr. Lingard, nothing of this appears: the saint assumes the character of an ardent and consistent reformer, regardless of his own interest, and zealous for the restoration of the pure discipline of the Church. In order to establish the accuracy of this singular representation, as well as to vindicate the reputation of that ferocious and heartless ruffian, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. L. has recourse to a plan, of which the ingenuity is at least as conspicuous as the fairness. After a repetition of the convenient formula, that Dunstan 'occupies a disproportionate space in most of our modern histories,' he goes on with what appears to us a complete system of *mystification*, mingling together facts and palpable calumnies, withholding important circumstances, and admitting or rejecting authorities just as they happen to assist or to counteract his views, until the whole reality of this portion of history is reversed. The unfortunate Edwy, a youth of sixteen or eighteen, whose only crime seems to have been his spirited resistance to the overbearing violence of the priests, is peremptorily affirmed to have 'rendered himself contemptible by the immorality of his private life.' Now, what are the authorities on which Mr. Lingard has ventured this charge? Precisely such as an historian free from undue bias, would have felt to be trustworthy only when supported by positive and undeniable facts. The whole of this statement rests upon the insinuations and assertions of monks; the rancorous enemies of Edwy, and the *ex officio* eulogists of Dunstan. The very language of their imputations against the moral character of the king, betrays not only malignant hostility, but an impurity of imagination that might fairly raise a question, to which party the accusation would most justly apply. It was unworthy of a writer of history to retail the miserable scandal which impeached the monarch of incest; a calumny instantly refuted by the evident

rancour of his assailants, by the obscurity which involves it, and by the other circumstances of the story. Nor are the attempts of Mr. Lingard to disprove the marriage of Edwy and Ethelgiva, more successful. The abuse quoted by him from the monkish annalists, amounts to nothing. The epithets *meretrix* and *mulier impudens*, on which he places so much reliance, are clearly no more than vituperative terms, of which the import is indisputably ascertained by the distinct acknowledgement that she was *queen*—‘ *regina*;’ while the authorities of Malmesbury and Wallingford decisively establish their union. On the characteristic endeavour to fix another marriage on Edwy, we have not a word to waste. The brutal conduct of Dunstan in *forcing*, not ‘ *conducting*’ (‘ *ri raptum*,’ ‘ *violenter abstractum*,’) Edwy from his bride, is veiled; the unmanly revenge of Odo in branding Ethelgiva on the cheek with a hot iron, is concealed; and his subsequent atrocities are ascribed on most slender grounds to the Mercian insurgents. The notices of Dunstan’s life which are interspersed, are written in the same spirit of partiality: the claims to celestial communications which he is affirmed to have made for interested purposes, are lightly touched; and the heaviest imputation on his character is thus dismissed.

‘ During his reign’ (that of Edward the Martyr) ‘ happened the tragic catastrophe at Colne, which has furnished modern writers with a pretext for accusing the primate of impiety and murder. If we may believe their narratives, Dunstan had the art to counterfeit a miracle in defence of the monks. By his orders, we are told, the floor of the room, destined to contain the members of the council, was loosened from the walls: during the deliberation the temporary supports were removed: and while the primate was secure in his seat above, the rest of the assembly were precipitated to the ground. Yet if we divest the real fact of its modern embellishments, it will be reduced to this; that the floor sank under the accumulated weight of the crowd: that the archbishop had the good fortune to support himself by a beam: and that of the others some were killed, and many were hurt in the fall. More than this was unknown to any ancient writer: the contrivance and object ascribed to Dunstan are the fictions of later writers.’ Vol. I. p. 250.

By a similar mode of statement, we should find no difficulty in changing the whole aspect of history. We feel it quite unnecessary to enter further into the real circumstances of this atrocious transaction, but would only remind Mr. Lingard, that he has omitted the important fact, that this ‘ tragic catastrophe’ followed instantaneously on Dunstan’s *direct and significant appeal to Heaven*.

The transactions between Henry II. and the turbulent Becket, are related in the same spirit. The king is treated with little

ceremony, and the sainted archbishop appears under a very different aspect from that which he has usually worn in history, and from that which a less partial survey and an ampler detail would have compelled Mr. Lingard to exhibit. It is scarcely credible, that, after so complete a specification, supported in all points by quotations and references, as that which occurs in Lord Lyttleton's life of the second Henry, a writer of the present day should venture on the very questionable experiment of varnishing the character of Becket. But the story is left half told, while the form and features of its hero are traced in lines shadowy and indistinct. By these means, the necessity of a more direct investigation is advantageously eluded. With shrewder judgement than his precursor, Mr. Berington, Mr. L. has avoided such a decided commitment of himself as that reverend gentleman hazarded when he exultingly exclaimed : ' Give me the greatest heroes, whom ancient times did deify, or such as a more temperate posterity has registered on the lists of fame, and I will say that Becket, when he closed his life, was full as great as they. All his native energy then collected at the heart ; and seeing the heavens, as he thought, opened to him, he fell as blessed martyrs had done ! ' The present Historian has trusted to the less venturous expedient of imperfect narrative. We have no disposition to vindicate the violence and artifice which marked some parts of the conduct of Henry ; yet, we have not the least hesitation in maintaining, that when he resisted the iniquitous claim set up by Becket, and opposed the scandalous abuses of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he struggled not only for the honour of his crown, but for the well-being of his people. We cannot pass from this subject without referring to Mr. Turner's admirable narrative of the transactions of this important period. He has held the balance with the most scrupulous impartiality ; and a recurrence to his statements would furnish the most impressive illustrations of the imperfection of Mr. Lingard's details. He is, indeed, accused, in common with Lord Lyttleton, by the present Writer, of having laid undue stress upon a letter written by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, severely reprobating the conduct of Becket ; and we are referred to Mr. Berington's Appendix for the proof that the composition in question is a forgery. Mr. B.'s arguments may possibly be satisfactory to Mr. L. ; but, notwithstanding the triumphant self-gratulations of their Author, they have by no means flashed conviction upon our minds. A copy of the letter exists among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum ; and its *title* is inserted in the index to a volume of MSS. in the Vatican library, though the epistle itself is wanting at the page referred to. Mr. Berington treats this circumstance as a very trivial matter ; but it seems to us much easier to account for the

disappearance of the obnoxious document from the collection, than to invent a reason for the judicial reference. And after all, this is but a subordinate point: the main facts of Becket's career are on substantial record, and beyond the reach of perversion or misapprehension. His own language manifests, incontrovertibly, his violent and ambitious character; and his actions were in perfect harmony with his words.

Mr. Lingard does not, however, put himself forward as the defender of the Pope's temporal authority. Though, as we firmly believe, that claim is only in abeyance, it is not likely, under present circumstances, to find open advocates among the enlightened partisans of the Holy See; and Mr. L. is too skilful a writer to entangle himself in unprofitable controversies. His language on this head is distinct and sagacious, though qualified by the intimation, that the limits between the spiritual and the temporal power are 'questionable.' In the notorious case of the excommunication and deposition of King John, he remarks:

'The reader has seen that Innocent grounded his temporal pretensions on the right which he possessed of judging of sin, and of the obligations of oaths. This doctrine, hostile as it might be to the independence of sovereigns, was often supported by the sovereigns themselves. Thus, when Richard I. was held in captivity by the emperor, his mother Eleanor repeatedly solicited the pontiff to procure his liberation by the exercise of that authority which he possessed over all temporal princes. Rym. i. 72—78. Thus also John himself had, as we have seen, invoked the aid of the same authority to recover Normandy from the king of France. At first, indeed, the popes contented themselves with spiritual censures: but in an age, when all notions of justice were modelled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes by their disobedience became traitors to God; that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they held of God; and that to pronounce such sentence belonged to the pontiff, the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. By these means the servant of the servants of God became the sovereign of the sovereigns, and assumed the right of judging them in his court, and of transferring their crowns as he thought proper.' Vol. II. p. 231.

The reign of John is, like all the rest of the work, ably written, and, though we miss those minor details and comments which throw so much light on the spirit of the times, and demonstrate the injurious influence of sacerdotal ascendancy, we are, on the whole, satisfied with the narrative of the leading events of that remarkable period. On the memorable transaction which transferred the allegiance of the monarch, and the supreme lordship of his realm, to the Roman pontiff, Mr. Lingard's remarks are at once temperate and forcible.

'This transaction has heaped eternal infamy on the memory of John. Every epithet of reproach has been expended by writers and readers against the pusillanimity of a prince, who could lay the crown

of England at the foot of a foreign priest, and receive it from him again as his vassal and tributary. It was certainly a disgraceful act: but there are some considerations, which, if they do not remove, will at least extenuate his offence. Though the principles of morality are unchangeable, our ideas of honour and infamy perpetually vary with the ever-varying state of society. To judge impartially of our ancestors, we are not to measure their actions by the standard of our present manners and notions: we should transport ourselves back to the age in which they lived, and take into the account their political institutions, their principles of legislation and government. 1° Now in the thirteenth century there was nothing so very degrading in the state of vassalage. It was the condition of most of the princes of christendom. Even the king of Scotland was the vassal of the king of England, and the king of England the vassal of the king of France; the one for the lands, whatever they were, which he held of the English crown, the other for his transmarine territories: and both were frequently seen in public on their knees, swearing fealty, and doing homage to their feudal superiors. John himself had been present when William the Lion subjected the Scottish crown to the English: and it was but nine years since Peter, the king of Arragon, had voluntarily become the vassal of Innocent, and bound himself and his successors to the yearly payment of two hundred and fifty ounces of gold to the holy see. Nor were similar precedents wanting in his own family. He knew that his father Henry, powerful as he was, had become the feudatory of pope Alexander III.: and that his brother, the lion-hearted Richard, had resigned his crown to the emperor of Germany, and consented to hold it of him by the payment of a yearly rent. John in his distress followed these examples: and the result seems to have recommended his conduct to the imitation of the Scottish patriots, who, to defeat the claim of his grandson Edward I., acknowledged the pope for their superior lord, and maintained that Scotland had been always a fief of the church of Rome. 2° Neither is the blame of this transaction to be confined to the king. It must be shared with him by the great council of the barons, his constitutional advisers, the very men, who two years later extorted from him the grant of their liberties in the plain of Runnymead. The cession was made by their advice and with their consent: whence it may be fairly presumed that there was something in the existing circumstances, which would justify the king, as far as he was concerned. Some writers have imagined that their motive was the hope of averting the threatened invasion, or if it could not be averted, of at least preserving John on the throne by the intervention of the same power, which had so nearly precipitated him from it. There is, however, some reason to believe that it originated with the barons themselves, who eagerly grasped at the opportunity of humbling the pride, and checking the violence, of the despot, whom they abhorred. From that moment they began to demand the grant of their liberties. On his refusal they appealed by their agents to the gratitude of the pope, now become his and their sovereign, reminding him that "it was not "to the good-will of the king, but to them, and the compulsion which "they had employed, that he was indebted for his superiority over

"the English crown." Innocent, however, supported the cause of his vassal: and the barons transferred their allegiance to Louis, the son of Philip. The men, who could thus place on the throne the heir of the French monarchy, were certainly capable of subjecting it to the feudal control of the head of their church."

We have had occasion, in a former article, to advert to Mr. Lingard's contemptuous estimate of the labours and character of Wycliffe.\* He has evidently found it difficult on this subject to preserve his usual moderation, and to keep his language from running into invective. In representing him as entering, in the year 1360, into a 'fierce but ridiculous controversy' with the mendicant friars, he studiously conceals the fact, that he was advocating the cause of the University against men who were constantly infringing on its statutes and privileges, and inveigling the younger students from the college to the convent. He omits also to state, that, as a reward for his zealous services, he was, in the following year, elevated to the dignity of master of Balliol college, and in 1372, to the divinity chair. 'In 1363,' says Mr. Lingard, '*by means with which we are not acquainted*, Wycliffe superseded Woodhall the warden (of Canterbury hall), and, *with the approbation of the Founder*, expelled both him and his monks.' How the expulsion of his predecessor could be the act of Wycliffe, Mr. L. does not explain; but he himself supplies the contradiction to his statement. Woodhall was ejected by Archbishop Islip, the founder of the college, and the monks were replaced by seculars, in consequence of the intrigues and broils by which they were defeating the design of the new foundation. After mentioning the preferment subsequently conferred on Wycliffe, Mr. Lingard adds:

'To accept of preferment was so contrary to the principles which he afterwards taught, that it is probable he had not yet determined to embrace *the profession of a reformer*. He continued however to lecture at Oxford, and imitated in his manner of life the austerity of the men whom he so warmly opposed. He always went barefoot, and was clad in a gown of the coarsest russet. By degrees he diverted his invectives from the friars to the whole body of the clergy. The pope, the bishops, the rectors and curates, smarted successively under the lash..... To disseminate his principles, *he collected a body of fanatics*, whom he distinguished by the name of "poor priests." They were clad like himself, professed their determination never to accept of any benefice, and undertook to exercise the calling of itinerant preachers without the license, and even in opposition to the authority of the bishops. The coarseness of Wycliffe's invectives, and the refractory conduct of his poor priests, soon became subjects of astonish-

\* Eclectic Review for June, p. 515.

ment and complaint.....The insurrection of the commons had created a strong prejudice against the new doctrines of the Reformer. *It may be that the itinerant preachers* had improved on the lessons of their master: but, if we can believe the assertions of the contemporary writers, we must admit that their sermons were calculated to awaken in the people a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and to bring into contempt the established authorities, both in church and state.....Exemplary in his morals, he (Wycliffe) declaimed against vice with the freedom and severity of an apostle: but, whether it were policy or prejudice, he directed his bitterest invectives almost exclusively against the clergy. In proof of his doctrines he appealed to the scriptures, and thus made his disciples judges between him and the bishops. Several versions of the sacred writings were even then extant: but they were confined to libraries, or only in the hands of persons who aspired to superior sanctity. Wycliffe made a new translation, multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his poor priests recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. *Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgement*: the new doctrines insensibly acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated; and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution which, in little more than a century, astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe.'

Vol. III. pp. 160—198.

To unravel this adroitly woven tissue of truth and falsehood, it would be requisite to go more into detail than our limits will admit of. The insinuation that Wycliffe was instrumental in fomenting the rebellion under Wat Tyler, is worthy of the 'contemporary writers' to whom Mr. Lingard refers, that is to say, the monkish historians, the virulent enemies of the Reformer; but an enlightened and impartial writer would not have permitted himself to set down the calumny as an historical fact on so suspicious testimony. 'That this is an aspersion invented by the enemies of the Protestant cause to sully its doctrines,' remarks one of Wycliffe's biographers, 'is abundantly apparent from hence; that, had it been in the power of the persecutors of the Reformer, to have fastened upon him so foul an accusation, they most cheerfully would have availed themselves of this sure method of crushing the man whose ruin they were contriving by any and every means they could devise. Among those who most suffered either in their property or persons, were many who were notorious for their adherence to the cause of reformation; a circumstance which would not have happened, had the disciples of Wycliffe favoured these turbulent proceedings.'\* Mr. Lingard's statement of Wycliffe's

\* *Life of Wicklif*, by the Rev. H. H. Baber, prefixed to the edition of his *New Testament*. 4to. London. 1810. p. xxii. In this

doctrines is not less disingenuous ; and his attempt to deprive him of the honour of having been the first to undertake a complete English version of the Old and New Testament, is contemptible. What does he mean by 'several versions of the sacred writings' previously extant ? If he intends by this expression, parts of the Scriptures, his language is calculated to mislead. If he means to assert that there were extant several versions of the whole Bible in the vernacular tongue, it behoved him to adduce further evidence than the bare assertion contained in Sir Thomas More's Dialogues. How pitiable the prejudices which could lead a Christian clergyman in the nineteenth century, to employ the language of depreciation and displaceancy in reference to the vast and noble undertaking by which the Holy Scriptures were first rendered accessible to our countrymen in their own language ! But, for Wycliffe's labours, Mr. Lingard has no gratitude, and for his genius and elevation of mind, no admiration.

We should launch at once on the stormy and havenless sea of controversy, were we to touch on all the points on which what we should term the increase of knowledge, but what Mr. Lingard would stigmatise as the factious spirit of innovation, would set us at variance. For this we have little leisure and less inclination. We shall, therefore, passing by the intervening periods, proceed to offer a few general remarks on that portion of his fourth volume which comprises the history of Henry the Eighth.

That eventful reign offers to the keen and skilful controvertist, an extensive range of debateable ground. There is scarcely a single position that may not be contested ; and the peculiar circumstances connected with the various transactions, may easily be so managed as to give them the hue and aspect best suited to the views and feelings of the commentator. It comprehends that critical period when light and darkness were conflicting with each other ; when the partisans of Romish domination, who had long acted on the principle that ignorance is weakness, were beginning to feel the pressure of the antagonist maxim

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volume will be found an ample summary of Wycliffe's opinions, which the reader of Mr. Lingard's work will do well to compare with that gentleman's account of them. See also Turner's History of England. Vol. II. pp. 421—426. Three years after Wycliffe's death, the Bishop of Worcester complained, that 'the eternally damned sons of Anti-Christ, the *disciples and followers of Mahomet*, conspiring with a diabolical instigation, confederating together under the name of Lollards, and actuated by insanity, were pouring out their poison from their honeyed mouth, under the veil of great sanctity.'

that 'knowledge is power.' But light and knowledge were as yet imperfect ; and the defenders of the 'old learning' had this immense advantage over the free inquirer, that they were tenacious of their opinions, and expert in the defence of them, while the advocates of reformation were venturing on an old, indeed, and sure, but disused and half-obliterated path. Brightness was upon it, but broken and obscured by partial haze. Safety was within it ; but menaces and penalties visited it with transient peril. Joy and triumph were in its horizon, but difficulty and suffering continually urged to deviation from the 'right onward' course. We ought not then to be surprised that some of the Reformers were feeble and hesitating in conduct, that they occasionally shewed symptoms of uncertainty in opinion, or that they degraded themselves, and betrayed their cause, by retaining a portion of that spirit of persecution which they had imbibed from their 'nursing mother,' the Church of Rome. It is not, however, from a Catholic historian, that we shall expect justice to their memory : their virtues are not inserted in his brief, and his antipathies will not dispose him to extenuate their faults. We will not accuse Mr. Lingard of 'setting down' aught in 'malice.' Of Henry himself, he could not speak too harshly. Wolsey is somewhat spared. Gardiner is introduced in a manner which renders us curious to know the shape under which he will take his station in the reign of Mary. But Cranmer appears in a very unfavourable light. The weakness and vacillation of his mind offered 'verge enough' for the deterioration of his character ; and the opportunity is not neglected. Nor has Mr. Lingard done justice to the character of Thomas Cromwell, from whom he endeavours, without any authority, to take away the merit of defending Wolsey in his disgrace. We have no interest whatever in vindicating these men. The cause of the Reformation cannot be identified with Henry, for, though he rejected the tyranny of Rome, he retained the absurdities of Popery ; nor with Cranmer, for he was deficient in firmness and decision ; nor with Cromwell, since, although he gave an enlightened protection to the professors of the new doctrines, it is yet doubtful how far he had himself embraced them. But Cranmer had many and conspicuous virtues ; Cromwell was an eminent statesman ; and while by no means anxious that their failures should be concealed, we cannot acquiesce in the suppression of their better qualities. The narrative of Edward's brief and agitated reign is closed with the following observations.

' Within the realm poverty and discontent generally prevailed. The extension of enclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack-rents, had driven from their homes numerous families, whose fathers had occupied the same farms for several generations : and the increasing multitudes of the poor began to resort to the more popu-

lous towns in search of that relief, which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries. Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers. They assert that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich; that in the pursuit of gain the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries, and the corruption of judges; that church-livings were given to laymen, or converted to the use of the patrons; that marriages were repeatedly dissolved by private authority; and that the haunts of prostitution were multiplied beyond measure. How far credit should be given to such representations, may, perhaps, be doubtful. Declamations from the pulpit are not the best historical evidence. Much in them must be attributed to the exaggeration of zeal: much to the affectation of eloquence. Still, when these deductions have been made, when the invectives of Knox and Léver, of Gilpin and Latimer, have been reduced by the standard of reason and experience, enough will remain to justify the conclusion, that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, had given a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion.' Vol. IV. pp. 476, 477.

There is consummate art in this passage. It is impossible not to admire the skilful selection of phrase in the words 'religious polity,' and the dexterous ascription of 'affectation' to the vehement and simple-minded men whose 'invectives' are made the basis of the annihilating 'conclusion.' The relaxation of morals consequent upon the dissensions and commotions of this, and of the preceding reign; the criminal excesses both of Catholics and Protestants; the dissolute principles and habits introduced and maintained by the licentiousness and depravity of Henry; all these are mingled in one portentous mass, and identified with the progress of the Reformation. To give a formal answer to insinuations like these, would be to rescue them from the effects of the only sensation they are ever likely to excite. It may not, however, be amiss to cite a counter statement, collected 'from the ecclesiastical historians of King Henry the Eighth.' 'The cathedral clergy,' say they, 'throughout the kingdom, gave themselves up wholly to idleness and pleasure. They decried and discouraged learning; affirming that learning would bring in heresy, and all manner of mischief. The rural and parochial clergy were universally ignorant, slothful, idle, superstitious, proud, and vicious; preaching most of them but once a quarter on a Sunday, and but few more than once a month, on the first Sunday thereof. In Lent, sermons were more frequent; but these usually turned on abstinence, confession, the necessity of corporal severities,

‘ pilgrimages, the enriching of the shrines, and the relics of the saints, and the great use of indulgences. . . . . No pains were taken to inform the people of the hatefulness of vice, and the excellency of holiness, or of the wonderful love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. It was far otherwise on the holy or saints’ days, for on them the monks and the friars and others would ascend the pulpit, and, instead of sermons, harangue the people on the merits, supererogations, and miracles of the saints, to the memory of whom the day was dedicated ; magnifying their relics, which they always took care to inform them, were laid up in such and such places.’\* After this, we need only inquire in what the former restraints upon vice consisted. Were they to be found in the sale of indulgences, and of masses for the dead ?

It is with sincere regret that we have yielded to the necessity of making the preceding strictures ; and we now feel ourselves at liberty to express our high admiration of Mr. Lingard’s labours in all that regards the secular history of our country. He has invariably imposed upon himself the severe but indispensable exertion of investigating and comparing primary authorities ; and this trying task he seems to have executed with peculiar facility, distinctness, and decision. He never conveys the idea of a writer sitting with his fingers between the leaves of an old folio, referring from one page to another, and entangled among the imperfectly combined fragments on which he is vainly striving to fix his bewildered attention : he wields, on the contrary, his clumsy and often discordant materials with admirable mastery ; he discriminates with clearness and precision ; and his summings-up are condensed and comprehensive. In this particular, we should be disposed to say that, with the exception of Mr. Sharon Turner, he excels all other modern writers of English history ; since even Dr. Henry was too frequently satisfied with secondary information. The scattered and confused transactions of the Anglo-Saxon period, under the skilful management of Mr. Lingard, find an easy and interesting arrangement ; and the administrations of the Bretwaldas, the vicissitudes of the different kingdoms, and the reigns of the West Saxon rulers, as well as of the monarchs of England, are vigorously sketched.

Notwithstanding the defects of the Saxon institutions, they contained the elements of freedom and impartial justice ; and to their origination may be traced many of the most highly valued of our present privileges. In all the various departments of judicial administration, care was taken to introduce the most effective agents. The highest political tribunal of the realm is thus described by Mr. Lingard.

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\* *Life of Latimer.*

### Lingard's *History of England.*

' All the occasional courts, respectable as they might be, were eclipsed by the superior splendour and dignity of the "mickle synothes or witenagemots," the great meetings, or the assemblies of the counsellors, which were regularly convened at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and occasionally, at other times, as difficult circumstances or sudden exigencies might require. Who were the constituent members of this supreme tribunal, has long been a subject of debate: and the dissertations, to which it has given rise, have only contributed to involve it in greater obscurity. It has been pretended that not only the military tenants had a right to be present, but that the ceorls also attended by their representatives, the borsholders of the tythings. The latter part of the assertion has been made without a shadow of evidence, and the former is built on very fallacious grounds. It is indeed probable that in the infancy of the Anglo-Saxon states most of the military retainers may have attended the public councils: yet even the deliberations were confined to the chieftains; and nothing remained for the vassals but to applaud the determination of their lords. But in later times, when the several principalities were united into one monarchy, the recurrence of these assemblies, thrice in every year within the short space of six months, would have been an insupportable burthen to the lesser proprietors: and there is reason to suspect that the greater attended only when it was required by the importance of events, or by the vicinity of the court. The principal members seem to have been the spiritual and temporal thanes, who held immediately of the crown, and who could command the services of military vassals. It was necessary that the King should obtain the assent of these to all legislative enactments: because without their acquiescence and support it was impossible to carry them into execution. To many charters we have the signatures of the witan. They seldom exceed thirty in number; they never amount to sixty. They include the names of the king and his sons, of a few bishops and abbots, of nearly an equal number of ealdormen and thanes, and occasionally of the queen, and of one or two abbesses. Others, the fideles or vassals, who had accompanied their lords, are mentioned as looking on and applauding: but there exists no proof whatever, that they enjoyed any share in the deliberations.

' The legal powers of this assembly have never been accurately ascertained: probably they were never fully defined. To them, on the vacancy of the crown, belonged the choice of the next sovereign: and we find them exercising this claim not only at the decease of each king, but even during the absence of Ethelred in Normandy. They compelled him to enter into a solemn compact with the nation, before they would acknowledge him a second time for king of England. In ordinary cases their deliberations were held in the presence of the sovereign: and as individually they were his vassals, as they had sworn "to love what he loved, and shun what he shunned," there can be little doubt that they generally acquiesced in his wishes. In the preambles to the Saxon laws the king sometimes assumes a lofty strain. He decrees: the witan give their advice. He denominates himself the sovereign: they are *his* bishops, *his* ealdormen, *his* thanes. But on other occasions this style of royalty disappears, and the legis-

lative enactments are attributed to the witan in conjunction with the king. The same diversity appears in treaties concluded with foreign powers. Some bear only the name of the king: in others the witan are introduced as sanctioning the instrument by their concurrence. In their judicial capacity they compromised or decided civil controversies among themselves; summoned before them state criminals of great power and connexions; and usually pronounced the sentence of forfeiture and outlawry against those whom they found guilty. As legislators they undertook to provide for the defence of the realm, the prevention and punishment of crimes, and the due administration of justice.' Vol. I. pp. 359—361.

The continual agitations of the realm do not seem to have prevented the active prosecution of commerce, or the acquisition of wealth. When William the Norman revisited his continental dominions after the Conquest, the English whom he carried in his train, attracted much attention: the females were admired as models of beauty, and their attire excited astonishment by its magnificence. The Conqueror took with him such a profusion of wealth as to give a somewhat extravagant idea of the prosperity of his new possessions; and one of his historians tells his readers, that England 'far surpasses the Gauls in abundance of the precious metals. If in fertility it may be termed the granary of Ceres, in riches it should be called the treasury of Arabia. The English women excel in the use of the needle, and in the embroidery of gold; the men in every species of elegant workmanship. Moreover, the best artists of Germany reside among them; and merchants import into the island the most valuable specimens of foreign manufacture.' On other authorities it is stated, that embroidery and goldsmiths' work of superior execution were known to the continental nations by the term '*opera Anglica*'.

The immediate effects of the Norman invasion were, no doubt, injurious, and the reigns of the first English monarchs of the race of Rollo were stern and oppressive. The military devastations of William, and the extreme fondness of the new line of sovereigns for the chase, transformed many valuable tracts of land into unprofitable wastes, and visited the natives with intolerable privations. It may, perhaps, be difficult to determine whether the country derived improvement, or not, from the intermixture of the invaders, or from the introduction of new customs, tenures, laws, and tribunals. We are reluctant to engage in a discussion at once so dubious and extensive; though Mr. Lingard has furnished a skilful selection of materials elucidatory of these topics. The first Henry conferred some benefits upon his subjects, and distinguished himself by providing for the due administration of justice; but his personal rapacity, the severity of his temper, and his destructive passion for the chase, inflicted

sufferings not to be compensated by the casual equity of his rule. **Henry II.** ascended the throne amid the calamities with which the fierce contests and baronial oppressions of the stormy reign of Stephen had visited England. He found that there were still in reserve for him additional perplexities in the encroachments of the clergy, and the turbulence of his sons. We have already adverted to the view taken by Mr. Lingard of the quarrel between Henry and Becket. For no other purpose conceivable by us, than that of prejudicing the reader's mind against the former, and thus preparing him to side with the latter as the victim of craft, violence, and oppression, an unfavourable character of the monarch is introduced, contrary to the usual practice, at the commencement of his reign. It is, however, powerfully, though, we think, not quite fairly drawn.

‘ Before I proceed with this narrative, I shall lay before the reader a sketch of the king's character, as it has been delineated by writers, who lived in his court, and observed his conduct under the vicissitudes of a long and eventful reign. Between the conqueror and all his male descendants there existed a marked resemblance. The stature of Henry was moderate, his countenance majestic, and his complexion florid: but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protuberance of the abdomen, which he sought to contract by the united aid of exercise and sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemiousness, **none** perhaps in activity. He was perpetually in motion on foot or on horseback. Every moment, which could be spared from more important concerns, he devoted to hunting: but no fatigue could subdue his restlessness: after the chase he would snatch a hasty repast, and then rising from table, in spite of the murmurs of his attendants, keep them walking or standing till bed-time. During his education in the castle of Gloucester he had acquired a knowledge of letters: and after his accession delighted in the conversation of the learned. Such was the power of his memory, that he is said to have retained whatever he had heard or read, and to have recognised at the first glance every person whom he had previously seen. He was eloquent, affable, facetious; uniting with the dignity of the prince the manners of the gentleman: but under this fascinating outside was concealed a heart, that could descend to the basest artifices, and sport with its own honour and veracity. No one would believe his assertions or trust his promises: yet he justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim, that it is better to repent of words than of facts, to be guilty of falsehood than to fail in a favourite pursuit. Though possessed of ample dominions, and desirous of extending them, he never obtained the laurels of a conqueror. His ambition was checked by his caution. Even in the full tide of prosperity he would stop to calculate the chances against him, and frequently plunged himself into real, to avoid imaginary, evils. Hence the characteristic feature of his policy was delay: a hasty decision could not be recalled: but he persuaded himself that procrastination would allow him to improve every advantage which accident might offer. In his own dominions he wished,

says a contemporary, to concentrate all power within his own person. He was jealous of every species of authority which did not emanate from himself, and which was not subservient to his will. His pride delighted in confounding the most haughty of his nobles, and depressing the most powerful families. He abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and married their heiresses to men of inferior rank. He was careful that his favourites should owe every thing to himself, and gloried in the parade of their power and opulence, because they were of his own creation. But if he was a bountiful master, he was a most vindictive enemy. His temper could not brook contradiction. Whoever hesitated to obey his will, or presumed to thwart his desires, was marked out for his victim, and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. In its paroxysms his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach. On one occasion Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea in justification of the king of Scots. Henry's anger was instantly kindled. He called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and unable to do more mischief, sate down, and gnawed the straw on the floor. Hence the reader will perceive that pride and passion, caution and duplicity, formed the distinguishing traits in his character.' Vol. II. pp. 41, 2, 3.

A Catholic clergyman is not exactly the individual to whom we should look for a fair statement of all the transactions which distinguish the reign of John as one of the most remarkable in the English annals; but, making some necessary deductions on the score of professional partialities, Mr. Lingard has acquitted himself satisfactorily. The Great Charter is justly represented, not as a new code, nor as an assertion of the fundamental principles of legislation, but as a correction of palpable abuses in the old system, and as the assertion of certain rights and immunities in opposition to the encroachments of the crown. On the occasion of the celebrated parliament summoned by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in 1265, Mr. L. enters into the much agitated question respecting the composition, in prior times, of the great council of the realm. It is beyond controversy, that, in this instance, representatives were present from the counties, cities, and boroughs; but it has been contended, that it was a novel measure, adopted by Leicester for the furtherance of his own views. Mr. Lingard embraces this opinion. He holds that under the earlier Norman kings, the parliaments were constituted strictly on feudal principles, being, on ordinary occasions, 'composed of the bishops and abbots, the earls and barons, the ministers and judges, and the neighbouring knights, holding of the crown'; but, under more pressing circumstances, the monarch was accustomed to summon the whole body

of his tenants in chief. There are, however, instances from which it appears that knights of the shire, originally chosen for a subordinate purpose, had become a usual part of the great national council. The introduction of the representatives of cities and boroughs, seems to have been first adopted by Leicester. Mr. Lingard has searched in vain for evidence that the practice had obtained previously to the date of de Montfort's parliament.

On these points we have followed Mr. Lingard, if not always with entire conviction, yet, with much interest and gratification. But we no sooner encounter him on professional grounds than we find him at fault. The history of the illustrious Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, is stated to have had 'considerable interest' attached to it 'by the *partiality* of modern writers.' Our readers will, by this time, have fully understood the meaning of this *inuendo*. It is, as usual, accompanied with a narrative in which all that is *piquant* is left out: the statements of Matthew Paris, who affirms that the bishop treated the Pope with very little ceremony, are dismissed as 'ridiculous tales'; and the accredited story, that 'he died under a sentence of suspension or excommunication,' is rejected as derived from 'questionable authority.' Of all such glaring evasions we can only say, *valeant quantum*. It might, however, have been expedient to be less peremptory in accusations of 'partiality.'

The reign of Edward I. was distinguished by important concessions from the crown to the people. The improvements effected by that monarch in the administration of justice, have procured for him the title of the English Justinian. For these salutary reforms, however, it is well remarked by Mr. Lingard, that the nation was indebted not merely to his wisdom, but also to his necessities; 'since they were always granted at the request of his parliament, and purchased with the vote of a valuable aid.' But the firmness of the leading nobles, supported by the spirit of the people, wrested from the haughty and reluctant king, a still more valuable privilege, in 'the sole right of raising the supplies.' We have been especially gratified with the narrative of this period of history. That portion of it which relates to Edward's Scottish expedition, is written with much discrimination; and the following strictures, though they may wear the appearance of severity, yet, commend themselves to approbation by their acuteness and independence of popular opinion.

'It may perhaps offend the national partiality of some among my readers, but I greatly suspect that Wallace owes his celebrity as much to his execution as to his exploits. Of all the Scottish chieftains, who deserved and experienced the enmity of Edward, he alone perished on the gallows: and on this account his fate called forth and

monopolized the sympathy of his countrymen. They revered him as the martyr of their independence: his blood animated them to vengeance: the huts and glens, the forests and mountains, which he had frequented, became consecrated in their eyes: and as the remembrance of his real exploits gradually faded, the aid of fiction was employed to embellish and eternize the character of the hero. If we may believe the Scottish writers, who lived a century or two after his death, he was gigantic in stature, powerful of limb, and patient of fatigue beyond his contemporaries. He knew no passion but the love of his country. His soul was superior to bribery or insult: and at the call of liberty he was as ready to serve in the ranks as to assume the command of the army. His courage possessed a talismanic power, which led his followers to attempt and execute the most hazardous enterprises: and which on Stainmoor compelled the king and army of England to flee from his presence, even before they entered upon action. Under so brave and accomplished a leader Scotland might have been saved; she was lost through the jealousy of her nobles, who chose to crouch in chains to a foreign despot, rather than owe their deliverance to a man of inferior family. Of all this a part may perhaps be true; but it is derived from no credible authority: much must be false, because it is contradicted by real history. The only great battles in which Wallace is known to have fought, are those of Stirling and Falkirk. In the first he was victorious: but he must share the glory of the action with sir Andrew Moray, who was certainly his equal in command, perhaps his superior. In the second he was defeated: and the defeat was the most disastrous, that Scotland ever experienced. In the history of the next five years his name is scarcely mentioned: but when the rest of his countrymen made their peace with Edward, his interests were not forgotten. "It was agreed that he also might put himself on the pleasure and grace of the king, if he thought proper." He did not think proper: and to this, whether it were patriotism or obstinacy, we are to attribute his punishment. He had been summoned to a parliament of both nations held at St. Andrew's; and, as he neglected to appear, sentence of outlawry according to the Scottish law was pronounced against him, with Andrew Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling. Edward was not, however, as he has been represented, a blood-thirsty tyrant. He still accepted the submission of Fraser: and contented himself with the captivity of Olyphant and his companions, though they had uselessly involved him in so much danger, and entailed on him so much expense. If the fate of Wallace was different from that of all others, it proves that there was something peculiar in his case, which rendered him less deserving of mercy." Vol. II. pp. 446—449.

The impolitic, but brilliant schemes and exertions for the attainment of continental dominion, which distinguished the reigns of our Edwards and our Henrys, find an adequate narrator in Mr. Lingard. His descriptions of battles are admirably written: they never trench on the marvellous; authorities are carefully examined; and the results are judiciously given in language at once simple and nervous. The romantic victories of Crecy,

Poitiers, and Azincourt were gained, as far as human means were concerned, by the ability of the commanders, the unrivalled skill of the English archers, and by that peculiar quality of British troops, unyielding firmness. The memory of the Edwards is clouded by instances of sternness and infliction of suffering, from which the name of Harry of Azincourt is happily free ; but the victor of Crewey has been charged with actions or purposes, of which he seems to have been guiltless. It is clear from the explanations of the present Historian, that the severity of his menaces against the self-devoted citizens of Calais, was the effect of policy, and by no means that of ferocious intention.

The wars of the Roses, with all their dependent complications of political and military detail, are unravelled by Mr. Lingard with his accustomed skill. The common report of the sanguinary and hypocritical character of Richard III. is adopted on grounds which cannot easily be shaken. Attempts, in some degree plausible, have been made, to exonerate that monarch from the infamy entailed on his name by the various murders which he is affirmed to have perpetrated ; and the statements and reasonings of his different defenders have been imbibed and enforced by Mr. Laing in an appendix to the last volume of Henry's History of England. His investigation is executed with considerable ability, though there is some little confusedness in the composition. But his statements and inferences are completely demolished by Mr. Lingard, who places the question on its original foundation, ascribes to Richard the atrocious misdeeds which gained him the throne, and, on a balance of evidence, decides that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor.

We do not think it necessary to enter on the examination of the reigns of Henry VIII. and his Son, which occupy the fourth volume, having already intimated our opinion, and not being aware that a fuller exposition of our sentiments would answer any important purpose. But, as we have been particularly interested by Mr. L.'s account of the battle of Flodden-field, we shall extract it as an illustration of his distinctness in descriptions of this kind. Hume's statements, we feel no disposition to discuss. He is at once so partial and so negligent an historian, that, whether we might deem him right or wrong, we should seldom think it expedient either to refer to him, or to vindicate our dissent from him, as an authority in questions of fact. But Dr. Henry, as both a diligent inquirer, and a man of pure intentions, deserves a more respectful treatment, and we have fixed on this passage of history as affording us an opportunity of remarking, that he appears to us sometimes to indulge an innocent and unconscious partiality towards his own countrymen. In the narrative of this fierce and well-contested engagement, for instance, he adopts all the romantic tales of the Scot-

tish historians, and introduces every possible circumstance that may seem to extenuate the decided superiority of the Scotch in numbers and position. His account of the manœuvres of that bloody day, is confused and spiritless, and a perfect contrast to the clear and animated sketch below. The Scotch fought with their characteristic courage; but they were completely out-generaled. The admirable movement suggested by Lord Howard, had rendered utterly useless the strong position and defensive measures of James.

Having demolished the castle of Ford, James led his army across the river, and encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot mountains, which border on the vale of Tweed. The same day the earl mustered his forces at Bolton in Glendale. They amounted to twenty-six thousand men, chiefly the tenants of the gentlemen in the northern counties, and the men of the borders, accustomed to Scottish warfare. From Bolton he advanced to Wooler haugh, within five miles of the enemy; whence he viewed with surprise the strength of their position, accessible only in one quarter, and that fortified with batteries of cannon. Rouge Croix was again despatched to James, with a message, requiring him to descend into the large plain of Milfield between the two armies, and to engage his adversary on equal terms. The king laconically replied, that he should wait for the English according to their promise, till Friday at noon. Surrey was disconcerted by this answer. To decline the battle, was to break his word; to fight the Scots in their present position, was to invite defeat. He was rescued from the dilemma by the bold counsel of his son, who advised him to march towards Scotland, and then return and assail the enemy on the rear. The next morning the army formed in two grand divisions, each of which was subdivided into a battle and two wings. The first, distinguished by the name of the vanguard, obeyed the lord admiral: the second, called the rearguard, was led by the earl himself. In this manner the English crossed the Till, and keeping out of the reach of the cannon, advanced along the right bank till the evening. At sunrise the following day, they again crossed the river by the bridge of Twissel, and returning by the left bank approached the Scottish camp. James now discovered the object of this movement, which at first had appeared unaccountable. He ordered his men to set fire to their huts, and hastened to take possession of an eminence more to the north, called the hill of Brankston. The smoke which rose from the flames, was rolled by the wind into the valley; and entirely intercepted the view of the two armies, and their respective movements; so that when it cleared up, the admiral found himself at the foot of the hill, and beheld the enemy on its summit at the distance of a quarter of a mile, disposed in five large masses, some of which had taken the form of squares, and others that of wedges. Alarmed at their appearance and numbers, he halted his division; it was soon joined on its left by the rearguard under his father; and both advanced forward in one line. At the same time the Scots began to descend the hill, in perfect order and profound silence. As the battle, from the disposition of the Scottish forces, consisted of

several distinct actions, it will be most convenient for the reader, to travel along the English line, and notice the result of each conflict in succession. The right wing of the vanguard under sir Edmund Howard, could not support the overwhelming charge of a large body of spearmen, commanded by the lord Home. The English were broken; and their commander was unhorsed: but while he lay on the ground expecting to be taken or slain, the battle was unexpectedly restored by the timely arrival of the bastard Heron, with a numerous band of outlaws. The fugitives rallied at his call; and a doubtful contest was fiercely maintained, till the lord Dacre, with the reserve of fifteen hundred horse, charged the spearmen, and put them to a precipitate flight. The next was the lord admiral with the major part of the vanguard, opposed to the earls of Huntly, Errol, and Crawford, who commanded a dense mass of seven thousand Scots. In this part of the field the contest was obstinate and bloody. At length Errol and Crawford fell; and their followers, discouraged by the death of the leaders, began to waver, fell into confusion, and shortly afterwards fled in every direction. Surrey with the rearguard was attacked by the king himself. James fought on foot, surrounded by some thousands of chosen warriors, who were cased in armour, and on that account less exposed to the destructive aim of the English archers. Animated by the presence and the example of their monarch, they advanced steadily, and fought with a resolution, which, if it did not win, at least deserved, victory. Though Surrey made every effort, he could not arrest their progress: they had penetrated within a few yards of the royal standard: and James, ignorant of the event in other parts of the field, flattered himself with the prospect of victory. But in the mean while, sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing, had defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox. As they descended the hill, the Scottish ranks were disordered by the murderous discharges of the archers: the moment they came into close combat, the confusion was completed by a sudden charge in flank from three companies of men at arms. The Scots began to retreat: Stanley chased them over the summit of the hill, and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the mass commanded by James in person. In a few minutes that gallant monarch was slain by an unknown hand, and fell about a spear's length from the feet of Surrey. The battle had begun between four and five in the afternoon, and was decided in something more than an hour. The pursuit continued about four miles; but the approach of night and the want of cavalry favoured the escape of the fugitives. In the official account published by the lord admiral, the Scots are said to have amounted to eighty thousand men; a multitude from which we may fairly deduct perhaps one half, as mere followers of the camp, collected more for the purpose of plunder than battle. Ten thousand were slain: among whom were the king of Scots, his illegitimate son, the archbishop of St. Andrews, two other bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, five eldest sons of barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction. Six thousand horses were taken, with the park of artillery, amounting to seventeen pieces.'

We have derived so much gratification and instruction from

these volumes, that we deeply regret our inability to give them unqualified praise ; nor can we now dismiss them without pointing out, in brief, their distinguishing excellencies. Mr. Lingard has, as we have already intimated, been equally assiduous in recurring to original authorities, and skilful in the management and application of them. He has at all times displayed in his investigations and arguments, a vigorous and discriminating mind ; his views are comprehensive ; his style, though not highly finished, is at once firm and flowing : on the whole, we should be extremely sorry to have his work placed beyond the reach of our frequent reference.

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Art. II. *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, in the Years 1818, 1819, and 20.* Accompanied by Geographical Notices of Soudan, and of the Course of the Niger. With a Chart and Plates. By Captain G. F. Lyon, R.N. Companion of the late Mr. Ritchie. 4to. Price £3. 3s. London. 1821.

AS Captain Lyon begins the detail of his expedition without apprising his readers of the circumstances under which it was undertaken, we shall, from other sources of information, communicate one or two particulars, in order that the object of his mission may be better understood. Our readers are aware of the various attempts which have recently been made, all of them unsuccessfully,\* to explore the river Niger, and to reach the celebrated city of Tombuctoo. To the melancholy results of Mungo Park's enterprise, and of Major Peddie's unfortunate journey, may be added the premature fate of Horneman, who was supposed to have died at Tombuctoo ; but more recent accounts render it probable that he terminated his labours, after considerable sufferings, at Bakkane, the chief town of Noosy on the banks of the Nil. Nothing, however, can be definitively pronounced as to the place of his decease ; for his papers, having been forwarded to our Consul at Tripoli by the Bey of Fezzan, were unluckily lost on their road. These failures, it might have been imagined, were not likely to render succeeding travellers enamoured of an expedition which has hitherto been productive of little more than peril and privation. But it is not easy to check the ardent and inquisitive spirit of British research. Indeed, the enthusiasm to ascertain the situation of Tombuctoo, and to develop the sources of the Niger, which has so long prevailed, would seem to be wholly disproportionate to the object, and to resemble the zeal of the Portuguese in the fifteenth cen-

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\* We refer more particularly to the persons employed by the African Association, to prosecute researches into the interior of Africa ; Mr. Ledyard, Major Houghton, Mr. Nicholls, and Roentgen, a German.

tury, to discover the abode of the imaginary personage known by the uncouth appellation of Prester John. This enthusiasm is far from having as yet subsided. Neither difficulties nor dangers have deterred successive adventurers from pursuing an enterprise in which their predecessors have not merely failed, but perished.

Tripoli has been considered as the most eligible point from which to commence the prosecution of discoveries in the Northern interior of Africa. But it was only three or four years ago, that our relations with that state encouraged any hope of its aid or co-operation. In consequence of the amicable dispositions evinced by the present Pasha towards the British Government, it was resolved to appoint a person of enterprise and talent to the office of Vice-Consul at Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, which is a dependency of Tripoli. Between Fezzan and Tombuctoo, a constant intercourse was understood to exist. Under these circumstances, apparently so auspicious for the investigation of Africa, the late Mr. Ritchie, then private secretary to Sir Charles Stuart, our ambassador at Paris, a young man of scientific attainments and of great zeal for research, and who had been originally educated to medicine, was selected for the undertaking. Captain Marryat of the navy volunteered at the same time his services to accompany him; and under the authority of the British Government, they were to make every effort to embark on the Niger for the purpose of exploring that mysterious river. Circumstances having occurred to induce that officer to relinquish his intention of joining the mission, the Author of the present volume offered to supply Captain Marryat's place, which offer being accepted, the Lords of the Admiralty, to whom application for that purpose had been made, accorded him the necessary leave of absence. Captain Lyon joined Mr. Ritchie at Tripoli in November 1818, having already made some proficiency in the Arabic language, which was of course considerably increased during his sojourn in that city.

At this time, Mohammed el Mukni, the Sultan of Fezzan, the person whom Horneman had formerly accompanied to that kingdom, was at Tripoli, and high in favour with the Pasha. He had raised himself to his Sultanship by the murder of his predecessor and his two sons, and was perpetually occupied in warring upon his defenceless neighbours, from whom he annually carried off from four to five thousand slaves. From one of these slave-hunts, he had just returned to Tripoli with a numerous body of captives and of camels. With this potentate, Mr. Ritchie had agreed to proceed to Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, and with so powerful an alliance, our Travellers felt the most perfect confidence as to their safety; a confidence which was augmented by the flattering reception they met with

from the Pasha, who also promised Mr. Ritchie protection and assistance to the mission. By his advice, they equipped themselves in the Moorish costume, as worn by the better class of Tripolines; but, besides the dress of Moslems, it became necessary for them, as far as practicable, to adopt their manners. Mr. Ritchie assumed, therefore, the name of Yussuf el Ritchie; Belford, a shipwright who had entered into their service, that of Ali; and Captain Lyon called himself Said ben abd Allah. A fighi (clerk of the mosque) instructed them in reading and the ceremonies used in prayer. They received also minute cautions from an old minister of the Pasha, who had travelled in Europe, and was on that account competent to point out what was most likely to betray them.

Captain Lyon does not affect to give a description of Tripoli.\* He was not, however, unobservant of many singular usages which prevail there. Of a curious class of devotees called Marāboots, he draws a disgusting picture.

‘ They are a set of people much spoken of in all Moslem countries; but it strikes me that the requisites necessary to constitute one of these saints, are not every where the same. The Marāboots of Tripoli are of two classes; idiots, who are allowed to say and do whatever they please; and men possessed of all their senses, who, by juggling and performing many bold and disgusting tricks, establish to themselves the exclusive right of being the greatest rogues and nuisances to be met with. They assemble every Friday afternoon in the mosques, where they eat snakes, scorpions, &c. affecting to be inspired, and committing the greatest extravagances. On, or rather before the beginning of their annual festival, which lasts three days, the great Marāboot is supposed to inspire those who are to appear in the processions, and who, according to their abilities, are more or less mad and furious. The natural fools are always ready for the exhibition; and it is amusing to observe their looks of astonishment, at being on that day, more than any other, brought into notice. During the time the Marāboots are allowed to parade the streets, no Christians or Jews can with any safety make their appearance, as they would instantly be torn to pieces.

‘ As I was in the dress of the country, and very anxious to witness the whole of the ceremonies, I ventured to go out with our Dragoman, and to make my way to the mosque from which the procession was to set out. I felt that my situation was a very dangerous one; but being resolved on the attempt, I dashed in with the crowd, and succeeded in getting near the Saints, who, with dis-

\* The best delineation of that city, will be found in the very lively and interesting “ Narrative of a Ten Years’ Residence at Tripoli,” written by the sister-in-law of Mr. Tully, the British Consul. See Eclectic Review. N.S. Vol. viii. p. 430. A description will be found also in the Travels of Ali Bey, published in 1816.

shevelled hair, were rapidly turning round, and working themselves into a most alarming state of phrenzy. Had I been discovered, my life would have been in jeopardy. But I was able to keep my countenance, and to pass unnoticed; and when the performers were sufficiently inspired, I sallied out with them, and followed them through the streets. One had a large nail run through his face from one cheek to the other; and all had bitten their tongues in so violent a manner as to cause blood and saliva to flow copiously. They were half naked, at intervals uttering short groans and howls; and, as they proceeded, threw their heads backwards and forwards with a quick motion which caused the blood to rise in their faces, and their eyes to project frightfully from their sockets. One or two, who were the most furious, and who continually attempted to run at the crowd, were held by a man on each side, by means of a rope or handkerchief tied round the middle. I observed that whenever the Marāboots passed the house of a Christian, they affected to be ungovernable, and endeavoured to get near it, pretending they made the discoveries by smelling out Unbelievers. \* \* \* \*

As the power of taking up serpents and scorpions is supposed to constitute a Marāboot, I determined to acquire that honourable title. Mr. Ritchie bought some snakes, which we all learnt to handle, and I soon found out a way of taking up the largest scorpions without any danger of being stung. However, in order to observe the ceremonies practised by these pretended saints, I sent for one of the most celebrated, under the pretence of wishing myself to become a Marāboot. This fellow went through numberless prayers and forms, spitting in my hands, taking rose-water in his mouth, reciting occasional prayers, and then washing his own mouth and hands in rose-water. After bottling up the rose-water, he told me to drink it on a day specified, and that then I should be as highly gifted as himself.

pp. 9—12.

The bazaars are open every day. Slaves and goods are carried about by auctioneers, who keep up a continual din, each calling the price last bidden. The Jews are shut up every evening at sun-set in a quarter of the town which they exclusively inhabit; and they are not allowed to wear turbans of any other colour than blue. But, though much persecuted, they engross all the trade and places of profit. There are a few schools, where reading and writing are taught: a knowledge of letters is, however, by no means a necessary passport to places of trust or emolument. Sidi Hamet, the present Minister, can neither read nor write. Our Travellers one day put the Koran into his hands the wrong side uppermost, begging him to repeat a few lines of it. He evaded the request by pretending for some minutes to read to himself; then, assuming a sagacious look, he returned it with the observation that it was very well written. The women stain their eyelids with antimony, which gives an enlarged appearance to the eye. They use also rouge in great quantities. Mamlukes (gene-

rally renegades, or purchased slaves from Georgia or Circassia,) enjoy the highest offices : the Pasha's daughters are not permitted to marry any others. Some crimes are considered as capital by law ; but many are rendered capital at the whim of the Pasha. The first Jew who happens to be at hand, has the honour of hangman thrust upon him, and he is obliged to go through with the duty. Theft is punished by amputation of the foot and the hand : the operation is performed with a razor. The bastonado is the general punishment for minor offences. Some culprits, who are able to bribe or influence the persons employed to see the sentence executed, contrive to stuff their trowsers so as to escape without much suffering. This punishment is inflicted on all ranks at the discretion of the Pasha ; and should his own sons or his minister displease him, they would become liable to it, nor would they consider themselves at all degraded by it.

A considerable time elapsed before Mukni was ready for his departure. In the mean while, Mr. Ritchie made every requisite preparation for the journey on the Desert ; but the allowance made by Goverment, had been already expended in merchandize, instruments, &c. ; which merchandize, having been selected in England, was, unfortunately, totally unfit for the interior. Their funds were still further reduced by Mr. Ritchie's having advanced three hundred dollars for some articles he had procured for Mukni, which were to be repaid him on his arrival in Fezzan. Such was the inauspicious commencement of the mission ! At last, on the 22d of March, 1819, the kafflé (caravan) proceeded on their march. Captain Lyon divides his tour into two parts ; the first comprising the expedition from Tripoli to Mourzouk, where Mr. Ritchie died ; the second, the Author's researches in the kingdom of Fezzan, previous to his final return to Tripoli ;—a measure which was forced upon him by the danger of proceeding without pecuniary supplies. And thus ended the last attempt that has yet been communicated to us, to penetrate into the interior of Africa.

Mr. Ritchie's debilitating illness has deprived us of that portion of information which, had longer life been permitted to him, he would probably have embodied in his journal. Relying on a retentive memory, he unfortunately delayed it till it was too late. Captain Lyon is no clerk, and he aspires to nothing more than a simple and unvarnished statement of his adventures. His tour exhibits, however, a picture of the Desert, which is new and interesting ; and the narrative claims to be exempted from too fastidious a criticism.

In the kafflé, which consisted of about two hundred men, and an equal number of camels, were several parties of liberated blacks, all joyful, Captain Lyon says, at the idea of returning to their

native land, though many had to walk, together with their young children, a distance of two thousand miles. The following extract from our Author's journal, will convey some idea of the delights of travelling in the Desert.

‘ April 10. At 7 A. M. cleared the pass, and proceeded to a small wadey,\* where, in spite of a strong Siroc, we succeeded in pitching our tents. The sand, however, flew about in such quantities, that we were unable to prepare any food, and we could not even see thirty yards from us. Mukni took shelter with us, and advised us to strip to our shirts as the best way of withstanding the sand-showers. In the afternoon, the wind having a little subsided, we cleared away the heaps of sand, which had collected round our goods. We found on examining some of our stores, that a large organ had been burst by the heat and excessive dryness of the wind.’ p. 70.

Sockna stands on an immense plain of gravel. It is a walled town, containing about two thousand inhabitants. In its vicinity there grow, in a belt of sand, two hundred thousand date trees, which pay a duty, and, owing to their excellence, fetch a high price at Tripoli. All animals in the town are fed on them. The water here is brackish or bitter. The quantity of flies is so immense, that flappers of wild bulls’ hair, tied to a short stick, are an indispensable appendage. The people of Sockna speak a language called Estaña, which our Author conjectures to be the original Breber tongue. Here Mukni was employed from day-light till dark in receiving tribute.

‘ As soon as the business of one party is settled, a prayer is recited, and room is left for another set, who, though they dispute about paying, are never suffered by Mukni to carry their point; for, just as they appear most confident of having their complaints attended to, some one of Mukni’s men cries out “ The Fattha!” (or first chapter of the Koran,) every one joining in that prayer. This is the signal for the poor creatures to retire, and they are then obliged to consider their claims as settled.’ p. 74.

A journey across the Desert, it may be easily imagined, is not very fertile in incident beyond the ordinary difficulties and privations of want of water and provisions. These our Travellers experienced in every shape. At length they entered the palm-groves and gardens of Mourzouk, in the suit of Mukni, who was anxious that his new Mamlukes should be ‘ as fine as his own people’ on entering the capital of his dominions.

\* Wadey is a valley through which the rains form a temporary stream. But in Fezzan, where rain is almost unknown, they are merely smooth dells, not producing a single plant.

They had been thirty-nine days from Tripoli, and the road, with the exception of Sockna and its vicinity, had been a dreary desert, having but few wells, and those of salt water. Nothing could have been more fortunate, than their travelling with the Sultan; for, otherwise, their difficulties must, the Author says, have been insuperable.

‘ At noon, if we could find a tree, we stopped under it; if not, we sat under the shadow of our horses. The Sultan was grand victualler, and generally produced a bag of bread or dates. Each one then had a portion enough only to break his fast; and after eating and drinking a few mouthfuls of water, stretched himself out, and slept until the camels came up. These rests were very refreshing to the men and the horses: but the loaded camels never made any stop; neither did the poor Negroes, who, with their wives and their little children, plodded on the whole day over a burning soil, often for sixteen hours, and sometimes for twenty, whenever want of water made a forced march necessary. One of our party, a poor old man totally blind, arrived safe at Mourzouk from Tripoli. He had walked all the way, led by his wife, and was kept alive by the hope of once more hearing the voices of his countrymen. Our tents were pitched, when the ground was sufficiently soft to admit the pegs, and our bales and chests were so placed as to form a shelter for those who had no tents. The little resistance afforded by intervening objects to the winds of the desert, renders them very powerful. The camels are turned out to feed in the thin and scattered bushes; the horses are hobbled, watered from the skins, and then fed. Camels’ dung is a substitute for wood, as it burns like peat, and forms a glowing fire. Cusscussou or Bazeen, is then prepared. The Sultanesses are no contemptible cooks, and they made excellent suppers for their master. In an evening we managed to make a little coffee, of which Mukni partook; and as soon as he went, his people generally succeeded him, wishing to taste some. A cup of it in the morning taken fasting, we found prevented thirst. If we abstained from eating in the early part of the day, we never required water; on the contrary, if any quantity of water is taken on an empty stomach, the person who takes it, suffers great thirst the rest of the day. A wet cloth applied to the back of the neck, relieves the fulness of the head, after being for many hours exposed to the sun.—Horses should not be brought near the wells till it is their turn to drink; if they are kept in sight of the water without being able to reach it, they become furious, and greedily devour the mud. Water is carried on camels, usually in about six gerbas or water skins, three on each side, one slung above the other. Horses occasion much trouble in a caravan. The quantity of water necessary to be taken for them, is averaged at one camel load for every horse.’ pp. 91—3.

Being now settled at Mourzouk, Mukni behaved at first with apparent kindness to his guests. He repaid Mr. Ritchie the three hundred dollars, and having received from that gentleman several costly presents, made him many flattering promises of

future aid. Mourzouk is a walled town, containing about two thousand, five hundred inhabitants, who are blacks. The walls and houses are built of clay, formed into balls dried in the sun and cemented with mud ; for, in those parts of the desert, there are no stones. The streets are narrow ; the houses mean and of only one story. The castle where the Sultan resides, is an immense irregular mud building, eighty feet high. The rooms occupied by the Sultan, are the best, the walls being smooth and white-washed. His couch is spread on the ground, and his visitors squat down at a respectful distance. The most airy part of the castle is occupied by the women, who are called *Kibere*, or great ladies ; the title given to the mothers of the Sultan's children. There are about fifty young women, all black and comely, guarded by five eunuchs, who keep up their authority by beating them.

Our Travellers were now miserably poor, and were compelled to practise the most rigid economy, living entirely on corn, and never tasting meat, unless fortunate enough to kill a pigeon. A severe dysentery confined Captain Lyon to his bed for twenty-two days ; and when he became convalescent, Mr. Ritchie fell sick, and was seized with delirium. Their money was by this time exhausted ; and the Sultan's treacherous plans to distress them, were so well arranged, that no one would buy their goods.

‘ For six weeks,’ says Captain Lyon, ‘ we were without animal food, subsisting on a scanty portion of corn and dates. Our horses were mere skeletons, added to which, Belford became totally deaf, and so emaciated as to be unable to walk. My situation now created the most gloomy apprehensions. If my two companions died, I had no money to bury them, or to support myself. My naturally sanguine mind, however, and above all, my firm reliance on that Power which had so mercifully protected me hitherto, prevented me from desponding. On Belford’s beginning a little to rally, we took turns in nursing our poor companion ; and having no servant, we performed for Mr. Ritchie the most menial offices. Rhamadan was announced on the 23rd of June. The strictest fast was immediately commenced before day about 3 o’clock, till sun-set at 7 P.M. During this time, no one eats or drinks, smokes or chews tobacco ; and even smelling perfumes is considered as wicked, as is swallowing the saliva. The heat was excessive. (128 Farenheit.)’ p. 102.

At this time they were obliged to eat by stealth ; for their friend Mukni had surrounded them with spies. In this wretched state of destitution, they met with a remarkable instance of disinterested friendship, in the conduct of Mohammed el Lizari and his brother Yussuf, who shewed them the greatest kindness. It is most cheering to find among mankind in their most degraded and abject condition, virtuous exceptions, which, like the oases of the deserts, refresh and gladden the mind, wearied with the monotonous and sombre picture of the baseness and

malignity exhibited among tribes so ferocious as those of this wretched country.

Captain Lyon describes a singular tribe of Arabs, of whom he frequently saw detached parties at Mourzouk. They are a fine race, comparatively white. They cover the face half way up the bridge of the nose; the covering, which extends below the chin to the breast, is of glazed cotton, of different colours: the beard is kept close clipped so as not to interfere with it. They wear turbans of different colours, and their common dress is a large loose shirt (the sleeves of the same size as the body) of blue cotton. From the left wrist hangs a dagger, the hilt towards the hand. No Tuarick (this is the name of the tribe) is ever seen without this appendage, together with a light spear of iron inlaid with brass, about six feet in length, which is thrown to a great distance. They are extremely superstitious, and are for the most part covered with charms against disorders and accidents. Their language is the Breber tongue, which is spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, and in some parts of Morocco. They have a strong aversion to washing their clothes, and indeed to ablutions in general. Our Travellers made many attempts to discover the reason of this singular hydrophobia; but to all their inquiries, this was the answer: 'God never intended that man should injure his health: water having been given to man to drink, it does not agree with the skin of a Tuarick, who always falls sick after much washing.' They inhabit the immense track of country called in maps *Sahara* or the *Great Desert*, wandering like other Arab tribes, and subsisting by plunder. They have a singular manner of riding on swift, tall dromedaries, called *Maherry*, (the *Heire* of travellers,) with which they perform extraordinary journeys. The saddle, which is very small, is placed on the withers, and confined by a band under the belly; and the seat is maintained by balancing the body against the neck of the animal. They manage them with great dexterity. The full speed of the *Maherry* is a long trot at about nine miles an hour.

During our Author's residence at Mourzouk, there arrived a large *kafflé* of Arabs, Tripolines, and Tibboo, (a tribe inhabiting the country on the road to Bornou,) bringing about fourteen hundred slaves of both sexes, and of all ages. We have been accustomed to the most horrible recitals in connexion with the Slave Trade; but the following passage can scarcely be read without shuddering.

' We rode out to meet the great *kafflé*, and it was indeed a piteous spectacle! These poor oppressed beings were, many of them, so exhausted as scarcely to be able to walk; their legs and feet were swelled, forming a contrast with their emaciated bodies. They were all borne down with loads of fire-wood; and even poor little children,

worn to skeletons by fatigue and hardships, were obliged to bear their burdens, while their inhuman masters rode on camels enforcing from time to time obedience with the whip. Care was taken, however, that the hair of the females should be nicely arranged, and their bodies well oiled, whilst the males were closely shaven, to give them a good appearance on entering the town. Their dresses were simply cotton wrappers, sometimes so torn as scarcely to cover them. We observed one girl whose back and shoulders were burned in little sprigs, so as to resemble figured silk, which had a very pretty appearance. All the traders speak of slaves as farmers do of cattle. Those recently bought from the interior were fattening, that they might be able to go on to Tripoli, or Egypt. Thus a distance of sixteen or eighteen hundred miles is to be traversed, from the time these poor creatures are taken from their homes; whilst, in the Interior, they may probably pass through the hands of eight or ten masters. These devoted victims, fondly hoping that each new purchaser may be the last, find perhaps that they have again to commence a journey equally long and dreary with the one they have just finished, under a burning sun, with new companions, but with the same miseries.'

pp. 120—122.

Although Captain Lyon had no opportunity of following the course of the Niger, he was indefatigable in collecting notices of the interior from the Bornou traders. Bornou is a large tract, seven hundred miles south of Fezzan. The river Tsad, called also Nil, runs through it. Its course is from S. W. to N. E.; it is of great breadth, and is crossed by heavy goods carried on rafts, floated on large gourds, which are impelled forward by swimmers. It is a curious circumstance, that this river is said by the natives to run into Egypt. Tombuctoo is about ninety days journey from Mourzouk. Adams's artless narrative had already dissipated the delusion which so long prevailed respecting the supposed magnificence of this negro capital. Our Author, who was diligent in his inquiries on the subject, thinks that the exaggerated accounts of its extent, may be thus accounted for. Many of the kafflés from Morocco, Tripoli, and the Negro states along the banks of the Nil, remain there during the rainy season, or until their goods are sold. During their stay, they build huts or houses to shelter themselves and their merchandise; and thus ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants may, in the course of a month, be added to the population. From this circumstance, strangers who happen to be there at the time, are impressed with an exaggerated notion of the extent and importance of the place. Captain Lyon adds nothing to the information supplied by Adams relative to this far famed city.

Our Author could obtain no information respecting Park; but all the persons of whom he made inquiry, agreed that it was quite impossible that he should have been confined in the town

without its being known to the merchants, who are in the habits of entering every house, not excepting that of the Sultan himself; a complete refutation of the notion so currently entertained, that he was, or is still confined in Tombuctoo by the Sultan, on account of his medical skill.

The Nil, Goulbi, Joliba, or Kattagum, runs from Tombuctoo through Melh in the Fellata; thence to Fendah S. W. of Kashna; it again makes its appearance at Kattagum, four days W. S. W. of Bornou, where it runs into a lake called the Tsaad. Thus far the Nil may be traced; the accounts of its further course are merely conjectural; yet, it is universally agreed, that by one of these routes, it joins the great Nile of Egypt to the southward of Dongola.

Although our Travellers did not find themselves quite at ease within the power of Mukni, whose treachery they had repeatedly occasion to suspect, yet, they had ample opportunities of observing and studying the inhabitants. Their visits to the date-groves for the purpose of shooting pigeons, gave them an insight into their modes of cultivating grain and other esculent products. Their wells are like large ponds, twenty or thirty feet deep; the bottom is a stratum of clay; the water salt, and offensive. They raise it by means of sheers, made of date-trees lashed together, and placed slopingly over the centre of the pit. To this, one or two asses are attached by a light harness, and run down a steep bank; while the men employed assist them in drawing, quickening their pace by pricking their flanks with their small reaping hooks. The water runs into small channels round the garden, while the women and children distribute it with scoops. The dates, when quite dry, are buried in square holes, and then covered with sand.

The condition of the party became every day more destitute. They hired a woman to cook for them, but she was required to come only once a day to bake their bread, or to make their cuss-cussou, for they were obliged to observe a spare diet; and it often happened that when she had stolen half their allowance, they were obliged to fast till the morrow. Belford having constructed a kind of rude carriage for Mukni, which gave him great satisfaction, was rewarded by this munificent potentate with seven dollars, which he brought home in triumph; and these 'really saved us,' says our Author, 'when on the very brink of starvation.'

'We economized our small allowance of money,' (they had sold a horse for seventy dollars) 'which, however, soon became much reduced. Belford and I fell ill about this time. I remained a week in bed, and rose from it a skeleton. One night, as we were all sitting pensively on our mat, our friend Yusuf came in, and, addressing Mr. Ritchie, said, "Yusuf, you and Said are my friends. Mukni has

hopes you may die, that he may secure to himself all your goods. You seem very melancholy; do you want money?" Mr. Ritchie having acknowledged that he did, Yusuf rejoined, "I have none myself, but I will borrow some for you." Twenty dollars being the sum named, our kind friend went out, and soon returned with thirty! an act of generosity so unlooked for, that we were incapable of thanking him as he deserved. This seasonable supply enabled us to buy good food, and to make some amends for our late privations. Our health soon improved, and Mr. Ritchie's spirits began to brighten.'

pp. 187—188.

But this interval of hope was soon darkened. On the 8th of November, poor Ritchie was again attacked by illness, and on the 20th, expired. During this time, he was for the most part delirious, but when he had in some degree recovered his intellect, he expressed an anxiety to know whether letters had arrived announcing a further allowance of money from Government. When Captain Lyon replied in the negative, he made no comment. The two survivors of this ill-fated party were themselves reduced to the lowest state of debility.

' We looked at each other,' says our Author, ' expecting that in a few days it might be our own lot to follow our lamented companion. And now, for the first time, my hopes did indeed fail me. Belford formed a rough coffin out of our chests. The washers of the dead came to perform their melancholy office, and the body was washed, perfumed, and rubbed with camphor. During our preparations for the burial, the women, who are always hired to cry at the death of persons whose friends can pay them, proposed to perform that disgusting office, but I shut the door unceremoniously against them. When I was out of sight, some persons stole several of our effects, and I now clearly saw that we were considered as lawful plunder. We hired men to carry the coffin, but one of them left us, and poor Belford was obliged to supply his place. The clay below the sand was white, which was considered as a good omen. We had, during the night, unknown to the people, read our Protestant burial service over the body. At the grave, we recited the first chapter of the Koran, which the most serious Christian would consider as a beautiful and applicable prayer on such an occasion. We returned home to pass a day of misery. It was necessary to distribute food to the poor, who surrounded our door in great numbers, and we had no money to purchase a morsel for ourselves. Yusuf's kindness having again supplied our wants, I succeeded in getting the house a little more quiet. Within an hour after the funeral, a courier arrived from Tripoli, announcing that a further allowance of £1000 had been made by our Government for the expenses of the mission. Had this letter reached us a little sooner, many of our distresses would have been prevented.'

pp. 191—193.

Various reasons induced Captain Lyon to return to England. The sum of £1000 was by no means adequate to carry him through Africa; as it would have been requisite to purchase

goods wholly different from those provided for the mission. As a precaution to future travellers, he states, that their adoption of the Moorish costume, was by no means a sufficient security in traversing the Interior. Whenever they had occasion to remain at any station, it was requisite to conform also to the duties of the Mohammedan religion, without which precaution, their lives would have been in perpetual jeopardy. But, by attending the established prayers, and repeating, 'There is no god but God, ' Mohammed is his prophet,' they obviated all suspicions. Into the morality of this compliance, it is not our present business to institute an inquiry.

Previously to his return to Tripoli, Captain Lyon determined to ascertain the situation of other parts of Fezzan South and East of Mourzouk. We cannot follow him through these researches, but must content ourselves with saying that he has, at great personal risk and with untried perseverance, succeeded in making a more accurate survey of this part of the Desert, than our most sanguine expectations had led us to anticipate. His notices of the rude tribes that inhabit those regions, and of the animal and vegetable products of the country, have been collected with the most indefatigable industry. Upon the whole, we have read the volume with considerable interest, an interest tinged with melancholy. Captain Lyon has given a plain, unadorned narrative, which, in our opinion, owes no inconsiderable portion of its charm to the absence of all rhetorical affectation.

**Art. III. *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Tournouth Tartars in the Years 1712, 13, 14, and 15.*** By the Chinese Ambassador, and published by the Emperor's authority at Pekin. Translated from the Chinese, and accompanied by an Appendix of Miscellaneous Translations. By Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart. LL.D. and F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 330. Price 18s. London. 1821.

TO Sir George Staunton belongs the praise of having been the first translator of a Chinese book into the English language. The Ta Tsing Leu Lee, or the penal code of China, which he translated in 1810, is a monument of the astonishing proficiency which unwearied diligence enabled him to make in that mysterious and difficult tongue. It cannot, however, be denied, that he had peculiar and exclusive advantages for its attainment. He was scarcely eleven years of age, when he accompanied Lord Macartney's embassy to Pekin. During his residence in China, he received regular instructions in the language, and, on his return to England, brought with him one or two natives. With this elementary knowledge, he went out again to China as a supercargo, where he resided several years; during which time, he assiduously kept alive and augmented his acquaintance with the written character.

Our readers may not probably have formed a due estimate of the difficulties of such an acquisition. Reasoning from ordinary analogies, they may be disposed to consider it merely as a triumph over the common perplexities of a foreign tongue, which a certain degree of attention and familiarity with those by whom it is spoken, will gradually achieve. But it is impossible to entertain any accurate notions upon the subject, without advertising to the written language of China as a distinct and anomalous contrivance for the communication of ideas. Rules and systems of construction constituting what, in speaking of languages in general, is called Grammar, have nothing to do with Chinese writings. The elementary characters are representations of sensible objects, and signs or symbols of abstract ideas. Their number is two hundred and fourteen; and the combinations of which these marks are rendered susceptible, constitute the whole of a written language which paints discourse, and speaks to the eyes. In all other languages, from the Sanskrit to the Celtic, from East to West, however diversified, this feature uniformly prevails,—that ideas are expressed by a combination of letters, representing, not the ideas themselves, but certain particular sounds, which signify conventionally those ideas. But the Chinese language almost realizes the visionary scheme of Bishop Wilkins, and is in the strictest sense, a philosophical language. It immediately conveys, according to an established classification, the ideas as they present themselves to the understanding, and is wholly independent of the sounds employed to give them utterance.

Enough has probably been said to prove, that, beautiful and ingenious as the theory of this singular language may be,—the practice of it must be highly inconvenient and perplexing. A more familiar idea may perhaps be conveyed of the extent to which the combination of two hundred and fourteen characters may be carried, by simply remarking, that the dictionary of China, so called *字典* *字彙*, consists of more than two hundred volumes, and contains, it is said, sixty thousand characters. Add to this, that these characters, besides being pictures and representations of perceptible, or arbitrary symbols of intellectual objects, are perpetually used in a sense which has no immediate relation to the pictures or signs which they represent separately, but, by inference or analogy, convey in their combination a totally distinct image. Thus, the compound of primitive characters representing *mouth* and *maternal bosom*, implies *affectionate admonition*. A *man*, in combination with a *field*, signifies a village. It is the frequent use of this allegorical or metaphorical figure, that, while it constitutes the wealth and copiousness of the language, renders it so inaccessible and difficult. Nor are the significations of the character to be at-

tained by mere reading, however systematic or laborious. A competent knowledge of Chinese history, customs, and modes of thinking, is absolutely necessary to their development. A single instance will elucidate our meaning. The character signifying *marriage*, is a combination of the signs representing *wine* and *seal*; because the wine presented in that solemnity by the bridegroom to the bride, is the *seal* of the union. Here, then, lies the principal impediment to the attainment of this singular dialect. The Jesuits were generally unsuccessful in their attempts to decypher the metaphorical parts of it; and although the zeal and industry of later students have achieved miracles in the cultivation of Chinese literature, a diction guarded as it were by so impenetrable a frontier, will, we apprehend, long continue to be among the rarest accomplishments of human diligence. Let us not, however, despair. Much\* has already been effected towards this important object, by those who are engaged in the pious labours of converting the heathen from his idolatry; before the victorious progress of whose benevolence, every difficulty seems successively to disappear, that has heretofore retarded the comprehension of the divided families of the earth in the golden bonds of Christian union.

Having said so much of the language, we have but little space to speak of the literature of this extraordinary people. It may be sufficient to convey some notion of its extent and variety, to remark, that the Chinese press is nearly as prolific as our own. The Chinese are a nation of readers; and their books are inconceivably cheap. Novels, apologetics, jest-books, *imperial exhortations*, songs, romances, dramas, books of cookery, almanacks, and court-calendars, are in constant circulation from the capital to the provinces. To those who cherish a liberal curiosity concerning that remote nation, their literature, in which they draw their own portrait, and sketch their own habits and institutions, is an invaluable source of information. For we are completely shut out from personal communication with them, being merely permitted to peep at them from Canton or Macao, as through a grate, where our factory converse with them through the medium of a mercantile jargon, intelligible only to themselves and the individuals with whom they traffic. It is obvious, therefore, that we are under no trifling obligations to those who, having mastered their language, bring us into a literary and intellectual contact with a country almost hermetically sealed to all external intercourse.

The work translated by Sir George Staunton, to which we have already referred, presented us with a view of the *internal* policy of that vast empire. The volume now before us, to

\* Particularly by Dr. Morrison, and Dr. Milne.

which it is time to advert, illustrates their *foreign* relations. But, from the peculiar genius of their policy towards other countries, it may be readily conceived that these are topics which cannot occupy a very conspicuous portion of their literature. It is indeed, as Sir George Staunton in his well-written preface remarks,

‘ but rarely, and with apparent reluctance, that the Chinese writers notice foreign nations at all. Thus, relations of voyages and travels, and narratives of foreign negotiations and expeditions, which are so numerous, and read with so much avidity amongst us in Europe, are of very rare occurrence among the productions of the Chinese press ; even of those limited communications and transactions with the neighbouring powers, which of necessity occasionally take place, but few traces appear in their published writings ; and the following work is, in fact, the only one which the Translator has met with of any authority, which strictly belongs to this class, and at the same time enters at some length into the detail of the principles of their external policy.’ Preface, p. 9.

The Chinese title of the book is *Yee-yeu-loo*, “A description of foreign countries.” The notices, however, of the countries travelled through, are short and incidental. The more immediate object of the work is, the proceedings of the embassy upon which the Author was sent by the Emperor of China, in 1712, to the Khan of the Tourgoths ; a tribe of Calmuc Tartars, who then inhabited the banks of the Volga. The ambassador details, in the form of a journal, the incidents that occurred on his journey, and his intercourse with the Russians and Tourgoths ; and then concludes with a recapitulation of the whole, in the form of an official report of the Embassy. The mission was a remarkable event in Chinese history. It was a laborious and hazardous expedition to the distance of several thousand miles, through the territories of powerful and often hostile states. The descriptions of the scenery, inhabitants, and remarkable objects which were seen on the route, are, it is true, meagre and unsatisfactory ; but the form of narration assumed by the Writer, has led him to describe the manners and notions of his own countrymen, as frequently as those of the people whom he visits ; a peculiarity which, to an English reader, gives it considerable value, as China is naturally an object of greater curiosity than Tartary or Siberia. It derives a further interest from its supplying a link in the chain of history, in respect to those pastoral nations of Asia, which was previously wanting ; since it is only from this Narrative, that the connexion between China and the Tourgouth tribes of Tartars, receives the slightest degree of elucidation.

It also throws some light on the Russian intercourse with China. In 1719, it is well known, that some untoward circum-

stances having interrupted the trade of Russia with the Chinese, an embassy was sent from Moscow, of which the public have long been in possession of a curious and interesting account by Mr. Bell, an English gentleman who was attached to it. It is a satisfactory proof of the authenticity of the Chinese work, that there is a general coincidence in the narratives of these nearly contemporary expeditions.

The result of Lord Amherst's mission is well known. But it seems from the uniform language of the Chinese Author, that the extravagant pretensions and haughty demands of the imperial court, which had in 1806 defeated the embassy from Russia, and afterwards frustrated that of the British government, were by no means the fruit of a modern policy, but of ancient and established precedent, and acted upon by the most enlightened princes of the Tartar dynasty.

We could not suppress a smile, when Tu-li-shin, the Ambassador and Author of the narrative, after enumerating the official situations which he held previous to his envoyship, proceeds to state with the utmost simplicity, the fact of his having been dismissed from a former employment for want of capacity; an acknowledgement of rare occurrence in the official departments of other countries.

*“ It happened that on the day when I was first presented at court, one of the assistant secretaryships to the council of state became vacant; and the counsellors having been pleased to recommend me as worthy of some mark of royal favour, the emperor was graciously moved to promote me in consequence to that superior office. I was, about the same time, appointed to inquire into certain deficient branches of revenue, and after accomplishing that service, but previous to my return to the capital, I was nominated to the superintendance and custody of the sacred animals belonging to the department of the Supreme Court of Rites and Ceremonies. Unfortunately, my talents and capacity proved inadequate to the proper discharge of my several duties, and I failed to answer the expectations which the emperor in his gracious goodness had formed, when he thus selected and employed me. Having been in consequence censured and dismissed altogether from the public service, I retired to Lin-loo, where I remained seven years and upwards, devoting my time to the cultivation of my farm and to the service of my parents. At length, when it was determined to send a special mission to the kingdom of the Tourgouths, I humbly addressed a petition to his majesty to be employed on the occasion, that I might thus have an opportunity of evincing the grateful sense I entertained of the many favours I had at former times enjoyed under the imperial government. Being admitted in consequence to the imperial presence, I had again the happiness of witnessing the benign influence and excellent effects of the sacred virtues of his majesty, by whom I was restored to my former*

rank and offices, and further honoured with his majesty's special commands to proceed on the service I had solicited.' pp. 6—9.

The instructions (in the form of an imperial edict) given by the Chinese monarch to his Ambassador, are very remarkable. We select the following passage.

'On the occasion of your interview with Cha-han-khan,' (Peter I., Czar of Russia,) 'if you are asked what we principally esteem and reverence in China, you may thus reply. In our empire fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them. They are the principles upon which we administer the empire as well as govern ourselves. In the face of danger we firmly adhere to them. There have been many who have even fearlessly encountered death rather than abandon them. We likewise make many sacrifices and oblations; we pray for good things, and we deprecate evil things; but if we did not act honestly, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just, and sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and our sacrifices! In our empire, therefore, there is no hostile array of shields and spears, no severe punishments.'

pp. 13—14.

The above piece of imperial morality may be considered as a species of summary of the Confucian system of faith. But, whatever might have been the purity of Chinese polity in the reigns of the earlier monarchs of the Tartar family, we fear that the government of that immense empire has gradually descended from this moral elevation. The provinces are far from being exempt from intestine war; and the disclaimer of severe inflictions upon offenders, we conceive to be entirely without foundation in the whole annals of China. In no country have the frequency and brutality of corporal punishment more hardened the heart, and diffused a more general indifference to human suffering, than in China. To say nothing of the bamboo, which is perpetually at work, the *kang*, or wooden collar, is a daily punishment; and Mr. Ellis, the secretary to Lord Amherst's mission, describes the punishment of *face-slapping* as peculiarly harsh and degrading. It was inflicted, he tells us, with a short piece of hide; the hair of the culprit was twisted till his eyes almost started from their sockets, and on his cheeks, which were much distended, blows were repeatedly struck: the executioners, he adds, seemed to delight in his sufferings.

But the Embassy yields considerably, in point of interest, to the other contents of the volume, which Sir George Staunton has subjoined in the form of an appendix. It consists of an abstract of part of a Chinese novel, some notices of Chinese plays, an extract from a Chinese herbal, and a collection of documents from the Pekin Gazette. It is worthy of remark, that the Gazette is a most important state-engine in China, and exhibits a restless anxiety to conciliate public opinion upon all questions of

policy; and it is pleasing to observe how much a government, which, in theory, is a pure despotism, is practically mitigated by the influence of that public feeling which controls by a silent but visible operation, the exercise of supreme power even in its sternest and most odious forms. This solicitude to secure the public approbation, is strikingly manifested in an edict relative to the punishment of a disobedient general.

‘ 24th and 25th of the 6th moon of } ‘ August 15th and 16th, 1800.  
the 5th year of Kia King. }

#### ‘ IMPERIAL EDICT.

‘ The power residing with the sovereign is chiefly displayed in the distribution of rewards and punishments. The exercise of this power ought to be guided by exact impartiality and a scrupulous attention to the public good, to the exclusion of private interests. Excessive liberality in rewards, is often productive of ingratitude from those on whom it is conferred. Extreme severity of punishment, is disheartening and oppressive. On the other hand, if merit fails to meet with its reward, a due encouragement to others is withheld. If a guilty action is unpunished, the principles of correction and amendment are abandoned.

‘ These maxims are ever to be kept in view, but more especially in military matters. For, if a superior officer who violates the laws is suffered to escape, what motive is held out to excite the courage of others? But above all, when we see myriads of our subjects, our children, perishing in consequence, their unburied remains arresting our attention, must not this touch and rend the heart of their father and sovereign? Shall we then protect and screen an unworthy officer, the author of such great calamities? The imperial line of Ta-tsing has not given to the empire a master so incapable. In order to the expiation, therefore, of the crimes whereof the late vice-roy Quay-lung stands convicted, an extraordinary edict, declaratory of our pleasure thereon, shall shortly be made public.’

It seems that this edict was shortly after issued; and it directed that Quay-lung should be permitted to be his own executioner, that is, should be privately strangled in prison.

Another edict extracted from the Pekin Gazette nearly of the same date, elucidates one of the usages of this remarkable people.

#### ‘ IMPERIAL EDICT.

The marriage of the third Imperial Princess Ho-je, being appointed to take place in the ensuing Spring, the Tribunal of Mathematics is ordered to select a fortunate day for its celebration.’

We lament that our space is too circumscribed to permit us to make an extract from the abstract of the novel. Our readers will probably recollect the little Chinese Romance published by Dr. Perey, which, though appearing under the disadvantage of

### Staunton's *Narrative of a Chinese Embassy*.

a double translation, conveys a juster and more lively picture of the actual state of manners and society in China, than any other work in our language. We could have wished on this account, that Sir George Staunton had not given us reason to believe that he had wholly abandoned his Chinese pursuits; an intimation we receive with great sorrow, because the novels and romances of that country must necessarily lay open views of the national habits and character which, in our present imperfect intercourse with it, must be wholly out of our reach. For, with all the massive tomes which have been written upon China, we are lamentably ignorant of its domestic society: a feature which the catholic missionaries, who had exclusively the means of observing it, have altogether overlooked. It was with the hope of obtaining this interesting species of information, that Mr. Manning passed ten years on the skirts of the empire—with fruitless perseverance, since he was never permitted to advance a mile into the interior.

The dramatic works of the Chinese are less adapted to reward the labour of the translator. They are too local and national to impart pleasure as mere compositions; and if minute beauties of style and diction are lost in the translation, what sources of interest will remain? The dramatic dialogue, duly rendered, and unaided by the action, can present only an imperfect outline of that interesting picture of life and manners, which in their novels and romances is filled up in its minutest details. We could have wished, however, that our Author had conferred upon us a few remarks relative to the present state of their drama, in addition to the slight sketch drawn by Mr. Davis, a young, but distinguished Chinese scholar, published in his introduction to the "Heir in his Old Age," translated by that gentleman.\*

All travellers, however, seem to agree with regard to the grossness and puerility of their dramatic representations. Mr. Ellis represents them as mere pantomimes, and observes of one of them, that the *part of a stag was the best performed*. But it has never been satisfactorily explained why they should exhibit these miserable puppet-shews before foreign ambassadors, while they have regular comedies and tragedies which are constantly represented at their own entertainments. Mr. Davis conjectures, that their characteristic contempt for foreigners has persuaded them to think that noise and dumb-shew are more suited to the capacities of their visitors, and that more intellectual exhibitions would be thrown away upon them.

It would be affectation, were we not to waive all observations on the critical merits of these translations, or not to acknowledge

\* V. Eclectic Review, N.S. Vol. XII. p. 167. *et seq.*

our incompetency to give any opinion at all as to their execution. We have consulted, however, an authority which is decisive with us on all subjects of this nature, and we learn from that source, that the versions are close and accurate, and faithful transcripts of the sense and diction of the original.

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Art. IV. *Poems.* By Chauncey Hare Townsend foolscap 8vo. pp. 960.  
Price 10s. 6d. London. 1821.

ON taking up the thin volumes which comprise the whole poetical works of Thomas Gray, and William Collins, and Oliver Goldsmith, it has occurred to us as a curious query, what proportion these extant works of theirs bear to the mass of composition which, at some period or other of their lives, they must have thrown off, and afterwards destroyed. It is incredible, that, in those works, we possess their first, and last, and total efforts: there is no fruit which is not preceded by a prodigality of blossom. What did they do then with all their bad poetry? Did it never see the light? Or was it all written, and forgotten amid the mass of anonymous things, before the name of the poet had been learned by the public? Did they write less, or only print less, than the present generation of poets? Were they less fertile, or only more discreet? Were they less vain, or more ambitious?

To what cause or motive soever it may be referred, it is a fortunate circumstance, as regards the permanence of their fame, that the sterling product of their genius has come down to us so pure from alloy; that its bulk is so small in proportion to its value. Let the long line of British Poets extend and multiply as it may, let Scott and Southey each pour forth his dozen volumes, and Byron, emulous of their voluminousness, follow *passibus equis*, still, there will always be found room, in the most select library, for the works of those humble minor writers of elder date, whose whole pretensions to fame rest on the contents of a mere pamphlet.

As a matter of policy, it might be worth while for some of our rising poets just to ask themselves, what room they can hope permanently to occupy in the library; that is to say, if they are looking any further than to the approbation of some polite circle, or the profits of an edition as their reward. Otherwise, it matters not: they have only to make a handsome volume, and their good poetry will make their name a passport for their bad. And certes, it is far better to be purchased by the rich, and praised by the fair, during the heyday of life, than to be read and remembered when we can be none the better for it. But, upon the supposition of a young poet's being seized with the passion for posthumous honours,—

• To conquer with persuasive arts,  
When soldier, all thy laurels wither,  
To build an empire over hearts,  
When king and empire sink together,—

the best advice we could offer him, would be, that he should write as much as he pleases—*nulla dies sine linea*; but let him take especial care what he prints.

There are some very beautiful things in this volume. Take, for instance, the following exquisitely elegant song.

- Amid the west, the light decaying,  
Like joy, looks loveliest ere it dies;  
On Ocean's breast the small waves playing,  
Catch the last lustre as they rise.
- Scarce the blue curling tide displaces  
One pebble, in its gentle ebb;  
Scarce on the smooth sand leaves its traces,  
In meshes, fine as fairy's web.
- From many a stone the sea-weed streaming,  
Now floats—now falls—the waves between,  
It's yellow berries brighter seeming  
Amid the wreaths of dusky green.
- This is the hour the lov'd are dearest;  
This is the hour the sever'd meet;  
The dead—the distant now are nearest,  
And joy is soft, and sorrow sweet.

The 'Song of the Sea-nymphs' is scarcely, if at all, inferior in beauty to the above.

- Far from the realms of air,  
In the coral groves we dwell.  
And our gardens are deck'd with the sea-weed rare,  
And our home is the pearly shell.
- When the moon is softly bright,  
The rippling tide we stem,  
And 'tis we who draw the line of light  
Round the horizon's hem.
- In the wake of the glancing boat,  
We sport where the wave is riven,  
Round the foam of the oar in brightness float,  
Like stars o'er the ocean's heaven.
- When the storm is raging loud,  
And down sinks the bark in the wave,  
Of sea-weed we weave the sailor's shroud,  
And dig deep his sandy grave:
- Or to warn him, ere the shock  
Stifle his dying groan,  
We kindle a flame on the cold barren rock,  
Where earthly flame ne'er shone.

- When bright is the western blaze,  
Where Phœbus his goal has won,  
We wed the waves to his golden rays,  
The bridal of sea and sun.
- Mortal, our life is sweet,  
Would'st thou be blest as we,  
From the turmoil and stir of the world retreat,  
And dwell by the lonely sea?

The Lines entitled 'Separation' may be given as a specimen of a different kind: they express with the simplicity of genuine feeling, a universal sentiment. To express such sentiments, is the prime purpose of poetry.

- Oh, 'tis one scene of parting here!  
Love's watch-word is " Farewell,"  
And almost starts the following tear,  
Ere dried the last that fell:  
'Tis but to feel that one most dear  
Grows needful to the heart,  
And straight a voice is muttering near,  
Imperious, " Ye must part!"
- Oft too we doom ourselves to grieve,—  
For wealth or glory rove;  
But say, can wealth or glory give  
Aught that can equal love?  
Life is too short thus to bereave  
Existence of its spring,  
Or ev'n for one short hour to leave  
Those, to whose hearts we cling.
- Count o'er the hours whose happy flight  
Is shared with those we love:  
Like stars amid a stormy night,  
Alas! how few they prove!  
Yet they concentrate all the light  
That cheers our lot below;  
And thither turns the weary sight  
From this dark world of woe.
- And could we live, if we believed  
The future like the past?  
Still hope we on, though still deceived,  
The hour shall come at last,  
When all the visions Fancy weaved,  
Shall be by Truth imprest,  
And they who still in absence grieved  
Shall be together blest.
- But happiest they whose gifted eye  
Above this world can see,  
And those diviner realms descry,  
Where partings cannot be:

Who, with one changeless Friend on high,  
Life's varied path have trod,  
And soar to meet, beyond the sky,  
The ransomed and their God.'

'The Bliss of Sleep' is a very pleasing poem in the same key, though composed with scarcely equal vigour. The lines 'on a lock of hair,' contain so much beauty of sentiment, that we regret they should appear in the slovenly form of lyrical blank verse, which gives them somewhat of the effect of a translation from a foreign language. The verses 'to the setting sun' are, as the Author intimates he is conscious, much too expanded, and very unequal. We shall do him the favour of abridging the poem, and recommend him to adopt our reading in the event of reprinting it. He has not yet learned the art to blot.

- Farewell, farewell! to others give  
The light thou tak'st from me.  
Farewell, farewell! bid others live  
To joy or misery.
- To distant climes my fancy flies,  
Where now thy kindling beams  
On other woods and wilds arise,  
And shine on other streams.
- The Indian leaves his hut of reeds,  
And bounds along the dew;  
Or down the rapid river speeds,  
Poised in his light canoe.
- Perchance, some exile on the strand  
Awaits thy coming ray.  
As thou from his dear native land  
Some tidings couldst convey.
- Or, as on ocean's furthest rim  
Thy wish'd for dawn appears,  
Still, as it grows less faintly dim,  
The wave-tossed bark it cheers.
- More welcome still thy blessed light  
Gleams on the stranded wreck,  
Where mariners, the livelong night,  
Cling to the shattered deck.
- Now mayst thou bid fond lovers part,  
Or shine upon their bliss;  
Behold a blithe or breaking heart,  
The first or latest kiss.
- Haply, thy hated beams renew  
The tear that sleep had dried;  
And mourners, sickening at their view,  
Remember who has died.

- Thou witness of my lonely dreams,  
Inspirer of my shell,  
Like Memnon's, answering to thy beams,  
Not yet—not yet farewell!
- How soft, how tender a repose  
O'er nature sheds its balm;  
Like sorrow mellowing at the close  
To Resignation's calm.
- Now does thy car descend beneath  
The boundary of our skies,  
And sheds upon the purpled heath  
Its last and deepest dyes.
- Behind the tall fir's sable trunk  
The half orb lingers still:—  
But now the latest curve is sunk  
Below the dark blue hill.
- I gaze, as if thou wert not gone;  
Or as my gifted eye  
Could follow too where thou art flown,  
And still thy path descry.
- To calmer realms thou seem'st to go,—  
I would pursue thy flight,  
As if no pain, nor care, nor woe,  
Could track thy steps of light;
- Far from the cold, whose looks repel,  
The warm whose words deceive;  
The cruel, who can wound too well  
Hearts that too much believe.
- Once more farewell! Another day,  
To all, or dark or glad,  
Fleets with thy vanished orb away:—  
And am I pleased or sad?
- I know not. All my soul to speak,  
Vain words their aid deny;  
But oh, the smile is on my cheek,  
The tear is in my eye.'

Of the intermediate verses, the first three are somewhat mawkish; the others are, with the exception of some obscurity in one of the stanzas, chargeable only with being a little commonplace. The sentiment borrowed from Ossian's Hymn to the Sun, stale as it is, may still be used *on a pinch*; but the poem really does not stand in need of any such cut and dried reflections, which, in fact, break in upon the *unity* of the train of ideas which form its primary subject. Completeness, as a quality of a poem, depends on the perfect development of some one or two simple ideas, rather than on the range that is taken, or the number of distinct thoughts: selection is far more essential to it than com-

prehensiveness. True taste is shewn in nothing more than in the rejection of what is good in kind, but superfluous. That Mr. Townsend possesses the fertility of genius and all the elements of taste, is sufficiently evinced by the extracts we have already given from his productions; and we doubt not that, as his faculties mature, he will acquire the severity of judgement, the self-denial, and the steadiness of hand which shall enable him to prune the exuberance of his thoughts, and to attain a more uniform vigour of expression. What he chiefly requires, is, to be less easily satisfied.

Among the miscellaneous poems, there are two or three more which deserve to be particularized, as of a very pleasing character; for instance, *To Music* (p. 211); *On revisiting a favorite scene* (p. 184); 'It is not here' (p. 188); and 'Hydon Hill.' The dullest things in the volume are, as might be expected, two prize poems—'Jerusalem,' and 'Waterloo,' and the poems about his late Majesty and the Princess Charlotte. The 'early poems' just serve to shew that the Author writes better as he grows older; a fact which it was not worth while to expend so much letter-press in illustrating. There are some 'devotional pieces,' which will, no doubt, be pleasing indications to Mr. Townsend's friends, of his religious principles, and, as they occupy but very few pages, we shall say nothing more about them. But then come forty-one sonnets! Some of these are tolerably successful, but they are for the most part too wordy to impress the mind, and too sentimental to interest the feelings. The last, 'To Romance,' seems meant as an apology for the 'weak fantastic whine' about unutterable woe, hapless love, singularity of fate or feeling, in which, in common with all young poets, our Author occasionally indulges. When he is once happily married, (perhaps he is by this time,) he will wonder, not how he could feel thus, or how he could write to express his feelings, but how he could print all that he had written. But, in disclaiming Romance so indignantly, he errs: it is a more than a poetical, it is almost a moral heresy. What is a character without some portion of romance? For what is romance, but an intellectual enthusiasm, which becomes dangerous only when the affections mistake their proper object?—a species of *idealism* which keeps the mind from sinking down to the low level of common-place things, by investing real objects with the power of exciting indefinite feelings. Now we feel quite persuaded that, *maugre* the hatred which he breathes against Romance, Mr. Townsend will never sober down into a dry, matter of fact, common-sense personage. His principles, at the same time, will guard him against the opposite evil,—the antinomianism of sentiment; and his feelings will not fail, under their guidance, to find their level and their right channel.

The best things in the Volume are the songs and lyrical pieces;

and the inequality that prevails among them, is the more excusable, as they appear to have been chiefly written for music. It is no small praise, therefore, to say, that the feeblest rise above the elegant nonsense which great poets sometimes condescend to write for music, and that beauty of expression is never employed as a veil for voluptuousness. We have already given two specimens of the songs. The following has an epigrammatic point, as well as a moral beauty, which reminds us of two similar productions of Goldsmith.

- ‘ I know thee now, yet cannot tear  
Thine image from my breast :  
In virtue’s spite it lingers there,  
A feared, yet cherished guest.
- ‘ So the poor moth can ne’er retire,  
Which once the taper burns :  
He thought it light, and found it fire,  
Yet, ev’n in death returns.’

We make room for one more.

‘ CONSTANCY.

- ‘ Let love burn with fiercest flame,  
If to more than one it fly,  
’Tis not worthy of the name :  
The crown of love is constancy !
- ‘ Let love still adore the same,  
If it fade with cheek or eye,  
’Tis not worthy of the name :  
The crown of love is constancy !
- ‘ Let it be love no force can tame,  
If, absent, it burn less than nigh,  
’Tis not worthy of the name :  
The crown of love is constancy !
- ‘ Give me the love whose faithful aim  
Can absence, change, and time defy ;  
This is worthy of the name ;  
This is crowned with constancy !’

It is, we admit, a strong temptation to a young poet, especially if he has a large circle of friends among whom his MSS. may have been scattered, to collect into a printed volume the whole of his *works*. But he must not expect that volume to live. The poems, however, which we have extracted from the present work, together with a few more of almost equal merit, deserve to survive the fate which awaits the collection. Had Mr. Townsend so pleased, he might have put forth a volume one sixth of the present size, which should have done him great honour, and would not soon have been forgotten. He has this still within his

power. Of the luxuriant accumulation of poetry to which the present age has given birth, it is but a small proportion that can have room made for it. The volumes which comprise the collected works of all the British Poets of former ages, are more than outnumbered by those of the rival candidates for immortality who have sprung up in the last few years. The majority of these will deserve to be swept away either for their inanity or their licentiousness; others, which, we fear, will not long survive them, deserve a better fate; but, in the discarded volumes, there will remain the materials of a most elegant anthology. The works of Anacreon Moore, R. W. Spenser, Smyth, Leigh Hunt, Lloyd, Neale, Jane Taylor, Barton Keats, Barry Cornwall, Wilson, Clare, and some other minor writers, whose entire works have no claim to preservation, would furnish a selection equal to almost any thing in the language.

Art. V. 1. *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*; undertaken chiefly for the Purpose of discovering a North-East, North-West, or Polar Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific: from the earliest Periods of Scandinavian Navigation, to the Departure of the recent Expeditions, under the orders of Captains Ross and Buchan. By John Barrow, F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 448. London. 1818.

2. *A Voyage of Discovery*, made under the Orders of the Admiralty, in his Majesty's ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay, and inquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage. By John Ross, K.S. Captain of the Royal Navy. 4to. pp. 428. London. 1819.
3. *A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions*, in his Majesty's ships Hecla and Griper, in the years 1819 and 1820. By Alexander Fisher, Surgeon, R. N. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 331. Price 12s. London. 1821.
4. *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific*; performed in the years 1819-20, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, under the Orders of William Edward Parry, R.N. F.R.S. and Commander of the Expedition. With an Appendix, containing the scientific and other Observations. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. 4to. pp. 518. Price 3l. 18s. 6d. London. 1821.
5. *The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle*. 4to. pp. 132. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1821.

**I**N our review of Mr. Scoresby's valuable publication, we gave a compressed but comprehensive view of the existing state of knowledge respecting the general phenomena of the Polar regions: in the present article, we shall endeavour to complete our outline by adding a summary of the leading facts connected with the progress of discovery in that quarter. The detailed narrative of the efforts made to extend the course of navi-

gation in this direction, forms one of the most interesting sections in the annals of human enterprise, furnishing a series of the finest examples of skill, fortitude, and perseverance. The works whose titles we have just transcribed, abound with illustrations of that absorbing and intense enthusiasm which counts the extremest hazards as steps to the attainment of its object; and of that steady and intrepid self possession which, in the midst of terrors that would have overwhelmed spirits of inferior mould, turns even perils to account, either as the means of extrication, or as instruments in furtherance of its object.

‘ How shall I admire,’ exclaims Purchas, as quoted by Mr. Barrow, ‘ your heroicke courage, ye marine worthies, beyond all names of worthiness! that neyther dread so long eyther presence or absence of the sunne; nor those foggy mysts, tempestuous winds, cold blasts, snowes and hayle in the ayre; nor the unequall seas, which might amaze the hearer, and amate the beholder, where the *Tritons* and *Neptune*’s selfe would quake with chilling feare, to behold such monstrous ieie islands, renting themselves with terrour of their own masses, and disdayning otherwise both the sea’s sovereigntie, and the sunne’s hottest violence: mustering themselves in those watery plaines where they hold a continual civil warre, and rushing one upon another, make windes and waves give backe; seeming to rent the ears of others, while they rent themselves with crashing and splitting their congealed armours.’

The first Arctic discoveries were unquestionably made by the Scandinavians, whose roving expeditions made them acquainted with the coasts of Greenland and of the main North-American continent. On the former of these regions, permanent settlements were made; but their lot was ultimately disastrous. Some of these perished in wars with the natives; and the deplorable visitation which interposed an impenetrable mass of ice between the colonies of East Greenland and the open ocean, has thrown a dark veil over the history of their fate. The earliest voyage in this direction from more Southerly ports, seems to have been the romantic expedition of the brothers Nicolo and Antonis Zeno in 1380. They were Venetians of noble race. The mutilated papers from which the narrative of their adventures was compiled, had been in the possession of the family during a century and a half before they were published. It is stated, that Nicolo, actuated by a restless wish to visit distant lands, equipped a vessel at his own cost, for the purpose of visiting England and Holland, but that having been driven far out of his course by a tremendous storm, he was wrecked on a large island, of which the name was Frisland. He was fiercely assailed by the natives, but saved by the interference of a chieftain, whom he calls, probably by one of those misnomers common to the Southern nations of the Continent, Zichmni, who gave a hospitable re-

ception to Zeno and his crew. Nicolo having rendered essential service to this Northern chief, who was much addicted to marauding voyages, was made by him captain of his fleet, and contrived to convey to his brother Antonio an invitation to join him.

In consequence, the latter fitted out a ship, and sailed for Frisland where he remained fourteen years in active service, plundering and making settlements, discovering new lands, whose strange names have given much annoyance to geographers, and aiding Zichmni in his ambitious design of making himself 'lord of the sea.' Nicolo died four years after the arrival of his brother. We have not space to enter on the difficult investigations suggested by the imperfect details of the voyages of the Zenos: they contain some statements which would incline us to question their authenticity; but, on the whole, the balance of probability appears to be in favour of their general correctness. The names assigned to the different regions, can be traced to known positions only by comparison and hypothesis, and, of course, geographers differ in their application. One ingenious gentleman thinks that Zichmni is an Italian corruption of Sinclair, who was earl of Orkney in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and stations him in the Shetland Isles; while M. Buache prefers fixing his head quarters in the islands of Feroe; and it is inferred, from a collation of terms and circumstances, that Newfoundland came within the range of Zeno's excursions. In aid of this supposition, certain ruins discovered in the latter island are brought forward; but it yet remains to be decided, whether these 'stone walls, oak beams, and mill-stones sunk in oaken beds,' are the remains of Zichmni's fort, of an Icelandish colony, or of *Lord Baltimore's saw-mills*.

The German forgeries which claim the discovery of America in behalf of Martin Behaim, are gross and palpable; but there is reason to believe that, in the fifteenth century, previously to his grand expedition, Columbus had visited Iceland, and sailed to some distance within the Polar circle. The discovery of Newfoundland is, however, conventionally ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, a native of Venice, whose exertions were ultimately rewarded with a post of high consideration and a valuable pension, in England. The history of the Cortereals is deeply interesting. John Vaz Costa Cortereal, a noble Portuguese, first of this family explored the Northern Ocean in 1463 or 1464, and appears to have anticipated Cabot in the discovery of Newfoundland. His son Gaspar Cortereal, in 1500, discovered Labrador. A second voyage in the following year was his last. After reaching Greenland, he was separated by stress of weather from another vessel which accompanied his own, and which, after long and vain search, returned to Lisbon; but the fate of Gaspar was never ascertained. In 1502, Miguel Cortereal, with three ships,

sailed in quest of his brother. On reaching the coast, they entered different openings for the purpose of making a more extended search. At the subsequent rendezvous, two vessels only met, and Miguel never returned. Vasco, a third brother, deeply affected by the loss of his relatives, immediately made preparations for a voyage on the same track, in hope of rescuing them if yet living, or, at least, of relieving himself from the agitations of suspense. But Don Manuel, then king of Portugal, steadily refused his consent; to all intreaties replying, 'that in this undertaking he had already lost two of his most faithful servants and valuable friends, and was resolved at least to preserve the third.' Vessels were, however, despatched in the same direction, but returned without any intelligence either of Gaspar or Miguel.

' The family of Cortereal has long been extinct, but it was for many years one of the most distinguished in Portugal. The family name was originally Costa or Coste, and of French extraction, having come to Portugal along with the Count Alfonso Henriquez, under whom one of the Costas served in the taking of Lisbon and conquering of Portugal from the Moors. The family settled in Algarve; and when John Vaz da Costa (some say his father) came to the Portuguese court, he used to live in such a style of splendour and hospitality, that the king observed to him, "Your presence, Costa, in my court, makes it a *real court*." Others say, it was not on account of his magnificent style of living, but of his personal prowess on a particular occasion. Two strangers having appeared at court, and, according to the manners of the times, challenged any of the courtiers to wrestle or combat, Cortereal immediately accepted the challenge, and civilly shook hands with his antagonist before the contest; but so prodigious was the strength of Cortereal (until then called Costa), that he squeezed the stranger's hand until he cried out, in the greatest pain, that he could not attempt to contend with a man possessed of such extraordinary strength; on which occasion the king is represented as being so delighted, that he exclaimed, "Truly, Costa, your presence makes my court a *real court*." Barrow.

Not being acquainted with the original source from which these anecdotes are derived, we can only intimate our suspicion, that the word here rendered *real*, means, not real, but *royal*. The correction, if just, would rather improve than injure the point of the anecdote.—The enterprises of the English under Cabot, of the Portuguese under the Cortereals, and of the French under the command of Aubert, stimulated the Spaniards to exertion. A brief and barren memorandum is the only record of the voyage of Estevan Gomez: he reached some portion of the northern extremity of America, and brought off some of the natives.

' It is said, that one of his friends, accosting him on his return, inquired with eagerness what success he had met with, and what he

had brought back; to which Gomez replying shortly, *Esclavos* (slaves); the friend concluded he had accomplished his purpose, and brought back a cargo of cloves (clavos). 'On this,' says Purchas, 'he posted to the court to carry the first news of this spicy discovery, looking for a great reward; but the truth being known, caused hereat great laughter.'

In the early part of the sixteenth century, various attempts in the same course of navigation were made by English seamen. Among them occurred the celebrated and disastrous expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby. His object was, to try the North-eastern route to 'Cathaia'; and his instructions were most excellently drawn up by Sebastian Cabot. The most sanguine expectations of success were excited. In addition to the common preparation of the vessels, they were sheathed with lead, being 'probably the first ships that in England were coated with a metallic substance.'

'Sheathing with lead was in use till the reign of Charles II., but was discontinued on account of its wearing away irregularly, and so soon washing bare in places, as to let in the worms; and sheathing with wood was adopted in its place. In 1708, a proposal was made to the Navy Board to sheath ships with copper, which was rejected without a trial. About sixty years after, it obtained a trial, and was favorably reported on; yet, so very difficult is the introduction of any thing new, that, ten years after this experiment, in Admiral Keppel's fleet, there was but one line of battle ship that was coppered.' *Barrow.*

Two of the ships were frozen up on the coast of Lapland, and Sir Hugh Willoughby with the crews, amounting to seventy persons, perished either from privation or from the rigour of the climate. A third vessel, commanded by Richard Chancellor, succeeded in reaching Archangel, whence the captain undertook a journey to Moscow, a distance of nearly fifteen hundred miles. Here he met with a gracious reception from the Tsar Ivan, and, by his able management, laid the foundation of a lucrative and long continued commerce with Russia.

The voyages of Martin Frobisher, primarily in quest of the North-west passage, but subsequently in search of a certain 'black ore,' which was supposed to be a 'marqueset of gold,' terminated in disappointment. The expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert took place in 1583; a few years after the attempts of Frobisher. This new adventurer was a man of rank and talent. His intrepidity is attested by the fact of his refusing to quit his crew in the hour of extreme peril, and by his exclamation to his men, not long before his little bark was swallowed up, 'Courage, my lads! we are as near to heaven by sea as by land.' The voyages of Davis, one of the ablest and most fearless seamen that ever trod a deck, added much to hydrographic knowledge, though they were not productive of advantage to his em-

ployers. In 1588, shortly after the enterprises of this great navigator, the voyage of Maldonado, and the discovery of the strait of Anian leading from the coast of Labrador, to the Great Ocean, are stated to have taken place. Mr. Barrow has inserted in his Appendix, a curious document containing both minute description and graphic illustrations of this pretended communication. The forgery, however, is palpable: its weakness has been repeatedly exposed, and it is finally dismissed by Mr. B. in the present volume. A confused, but interesting and well authenticated narrative ascribes the re-discovery and passage of this fabulous strait to Juan de Fuca in 1592. This old pilot was met with at Venice by an Englishman named Michael Lok, to whom he related his adventures; stating that he was a Greek by birth, and had navigated 'the West Indies of Spain' forty years; that when the English captain Cavendish took a rich Philippine merchant vessel, he 'lost 60,000 ducats of his own goods; that having been despatched by the viceroy of Mexico on a voyage of discovery, he entered 'a broad inlet of the sea between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude,' through which he sailed into 'the North sea.' All knowledge of this voyage has been disclaimed by the Spaniards. The best proof of its authenticity is supplied by the fact, that a strait has been ascertained to exist precisely where the old Greek described it as opening. Unfortunately, however, it merely separates a large portion from the continent, and passes on into the Pacific.

The voyages of Barentz are distinguished by the discovery of Spitzbergen, and by the disasters which compelled the crew to winter on the coast of Nova Zembla, and to navigate in open boats the Frozen Ocean through a space of eleven hundred miles 'in the ice, over the ice, and through the sea.' The enterprises of the skilful and adventurous Henry Hudson, added to the mass of scientific acquisition without ascertaining the object for which they were undertaken. The first, 1607, was entered on with the view of attempting the direct course towards the Pole; the second was in quest of the North-eastern passage; in the third, he discovered the river which is known by his name; and in the fourth, 1610, he entered Hudson's Strait and Bay. This was his last navigation. He had unwisely taken on board a profligate youth named Greene, who became the instigator and leader of a gang of mutineers, by whom the unfortunate Hudson, his son, and seven others, were turned adrift in an open boat among the ice.

Among the different expeditions of discovery which distinguish the early part of the seventeenth century, those of Baffin hold a high rank; but, in the most important of his voyages, his memoranda afford so little satisfactory information, that the

precise limits and character of Baffin's Bay were never clearly defined until the recent surveys of Ross and Parry.

The discoveries which were made during the eighteenth century, have been too frequently the subjects of reference, to require minute specification here. Moor, Smith, Phipps, Cook, Kotzebue, and others, distinguished themselves by their ability and zeal, yet without making any decided approximation to the solution of the grand problem. The land journeys of Hearne and Mackenzie to the northern extremity of America, though far from affording the amount of information which the Travellers had the easy means of obtaining, gave a new impulse to the general curiosity. On different parallels, they had succeeded in reaching what appeared to be the sea, and thus added an important link to the series of deductions which had led to the hypothesis of a North-western passage.

Such was the general state of things with respect to the grand object of Polar navigation, when, in 1818, two expeditions were fitted out by the English Government; one for the purpose of proceeding directly North between Greenland and Spitzbergen, the other destined to explore the passage up Davis's Strait and the trending of the American coast. The latter was under the immediate direction of Captain Ross. From this equipment, which had excited to a very high degree the public expectation, no satisfactory result was obtained; and it was soon understood, that persons possessing the best means of investigation, were by no means convinced that the exertions made were answerable to the importance of the enterprise. Nor were they disposed to rest on Captain Ross's assertion, that he had 'proved the existence of a bay from Disco to Cumberland Strait, and set at rest for ever the question of a North-west passage in this direction.' Subsequent events have proved the entire justice of this dissatisfaction; and have so much diminished the value, never very high, of Captain R.'s quarto, as to render it quite unnecessary for us to detain our readers by anything more than a brief reference to its contents. The Isabella and Alexander sailed from the Shetland Islands, May 3rd, 1818; they met with the usual obstructions, and encountered the common hazards of the Northern seas, until the 6th of August, when the ships were beset, and nearly wrecked by the pressure of the ice,

' It became a trial of strength between the ship and the ice; every support threatened to give way; the beams in the hold began to bend; and the iron tanks settled together. At this critical moment, when it seemed impossible for the ship to sustain the accumulating pressure much longer, she rose several feet; while the ice, which was more than six feet thick, broke against her sides, curling back on itself. The great stress now fell upon her bow, and after being again lifted up, she was carried with great violence towards the Alexander, which

ship had hitherto been in a great measure defended by the Isabella. Every effort to avoid their getting foul of each other failed; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat that could not be removed in time. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less expected than the loss of the masts: but at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted; the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the Alexander with comparatively little damage. The last things that hooked each other were the two bower anchors, which being torn from the bows, remained suspended in a line between the two ships, until that of the Alexander gave way.'

Ross.

This escape from a stress which must have crushed a common whaler, proved the efficacy of the precautions which had been taken to strengthen the ships by transverse beams and additional planking. Shortly after this, the crews of the vessels communicated with some of the natives, to whom the sight of Europeans and ships was altogether new, and who exhibited the usual signs of apprehension, wonder, and gratification. Among their various expressions of pleasure, pulling their own noses is enumerated by Captain Ross; but Mr. Fisher, in his published journal, does not appear to have observed this singular gesture. In the different interviews, the services of Sacheuse, an Esquimaux who had been brought to England by a Greenland ship, and who now acted as interpreter, were found extremely useful. He recognised the natives of Prince Regent's Bay as the Aborigines of his country. 'These,' he exclaimed, 'are right Esquimaux; these are *our* fathers.' At the suggestion of Captain Ross, he endeavoured, in various ways, to ascertain whether the visitants had any knowledge of the Supreme Being. We apprehend that the negative was too hastily inferred, since their dialect was somewhat different from his own, and inasmuch as the existence of *angekoks* or sorcerers among them, implies at least, the apprehension of a mysterious and superhuman agency. The examination of the Northernmost part of Baffin's Bay is represented by Captain R., as having been sufficiently close and accurate to warrant the assumption of the perfect certainty of its continuity; such too is affirmed to have been the opinion of the officers of both ships. Mr. Fisher evidently seems to think that the point was extremely doubtful, and the following cautious but very significant observations, are a sufficient justification of his scepticism.

'We made sail to the southward, and abandoned the search for a passage in this quarter, from a thorough conviction, *I should hope*, that not any such passage exists here. I am perfectly satisfied myself that this is not the place to look for it, although I must confess that I did not see the continuity of land all around the top of this bay, if it

may be so termed ; and, in order to shew that I am not the only person who has been unfortunate in this respect, I have inserted, in the Appendix, No. 6, an exact copy of the ship's log for this day, by which it does not appear that the land was seen all around at one time ; neither by a comparison of the bearings of the east land, and of the west, taken at different times, do they appear to meet'

"*Journal, &c. by an Officer of the Alexander.*"

Having had occasion to refer to this Journal, which is commonly ascribed to Mr. Fisher, the author of the volume which we shall shortly notice, it would be unfair not to remark, that it contains, in a very cheap form, a sensible and sufficient detail of the various circumstances connected with the expedition of 1818.

The only remaining event of any importance in Captain Ross's book, is the unfortunate failure at Lancaster's sound. That so important a point as the continuity of the land at the bottom of this inlet, should be affirmed with so little hesitation, and laid down in the chart with so much precision, is not more unaccountable than the negligence which, instead of calling up every officer in the ship to bear testimony to the fact, could satisfy itself with the evidence of three individuals only. We have no wish, however, to dwell on these circumstances, and shall now proceed to the subsequent expedition, which, under more favourable auspices, and more skilful guidance, proved the inaccuracy of previous inferences, and ascertained that Lancaster's sound is in all human probability a branch of the mighty ocean, severing North America from the Polar regions. It is hardly necessary to advert to the getting up of a defunct volume, but we cannot dismiss Captain Ross's work without noticing the tawdry style in which the graphic illustrations are produced, and the bad taste displayed in their selection. The insipid view of Mr. Mouatt's house, has no conceivable relation to the subject of the book ; the leaping bear is perfectly childish ; the singularly formed bergs would have sufficed in simple outline ; and the 'crimson cliffs' might have been represented without a fierceness of tint which emulates the Red Lion over an ale-house door. Captain Ross's sketches seem to have been put into the hands of some artist whose principal merit consisted in his mechanical facility, and who has dashed out, without feeling or discrimination, a series of drawings very little expressive, as we suspect, of the real character of Arctic scenery.

The failure of the expedition of 1818 being clearly attributable either to defective observation, or to some less creditable cause, another was fitted out in the following year under the orders of Lieutenant Parry, who had, in the former instance, commanded the *Alexander*. The *Hecla* (bomb) of 400 tons, and the *Griper* (gun brig) of much smaller dimensions, were

prepared, in the usual way, for this service, and sailed from the Nore, May 11, 1819. Every precaution was taken for the health and comfort of the crews; double pay was assigned them; and, in addition to the common antiscorbutics, a large quantity of Donkin and Hall's preserved meats and soups, was provided. The *Hecla* was a large and commodious vessel, and in all respects answered the views of those who selected her; but the 'miserable little Griper' was quite unfit for the service. At the outset of the voyage, it was found necessary for the *Hecla* to take her in tow, and though she went 'remarkably well upon a wind,' yet, in subsequent periods; her bad sailing was found extremely embarrassing. Nothing remarkable occurred until the ships reached the ice, which, in the narrow part of Davis's Strait, they found peculiarly annoying. In one instance, they were five hours crossing a stream of ice not more than three hundred yards wide. The following extract may afford some idea of the teasing and harassing nature of Arctic navigation.

'About three A. M., by a sudden motion of the ice, we succeeded in getting the *Hecla* out of her confined situation, and ran her up astern of the Griper. The clear water had made so much to the westward, that a narrow neck of ice was all that was now interposed between the ships and a large open space in that quarter. Both ships' companies were, therefore, ordered upon the ice to saw off the neck, when the floes suddenly opened sufficiently to allow the Griper to push through under all sail. No time was lost in the attempt to get the *Hecla* through after her, but, by one of those accidents to which this navigation is liable, and which renders it so precarious and uncertain, a piece of loose ice which lay between the two ships, was drawn after the Griper by the eddy produced by her motion, and completely blocked the narrow passage through which we were about to follow. Before we could remove this obstruction by hauling it back out of the channel, the floes were again pressed together, wedging it firmly and immovably betwixt them: the saws were immediately set to work, and used with great effect, but it was not till eleven o'clock that we succeeded, after seven hours labour, in getting the *Hecla* into the lanes of clear water which opened more and more to the westward.'

*Parry.*

The advantages of local knowledge, added to accurate calculations and skilful manœuvres, were never more strongly exemplified than they were in the comparative earliness of the season at which the *Hecla* and Griper made Lancaster's Sound. By the close of July, after a difficult navigation through an immense body of ice, without the slightest indication of a clear sea beyond it, Captain Parry, to whose forecast and decision the highest credit is due, had brought the vessels under his command to the entrance of that inlet, one month earlier than the period at which it had been reached in the former year, though he had started a fortnight later. When the *Hecla* obtained the first

sight of the southern point, she telegraphed the Griper, and both ships entered the opening under crowded canvas. As they approached the critical line that was to confirm their hopes or their apprehensions, the crews were restless and on the look-out in all directions.

‘ Being favoured at length by the easterly breeze which was bringing up the Griper, and for which we had long been looking with much impatience, a crowd of sail was set to carry us with all rapidity to the westward. It is more easy to imagine than to describe the almost breathless anxiety which was now visible in every countenance, while, as the breeze increased to a fresh gale, we ran quickly up the Sound. The mast-heads were crowded by the officers and men during the whole afternoon : and an unconcerned observer, if any could have been unconcerned on such an occasion, would have been amused by the eagerness with which the various reports from the crow’s nest were received, all, however, hitherto favourable to our most sanguine hopes.’

*Parry,*

At length, they reached the affirmed closure of the gulf; Croker’s Mountains disappeared, and the ships sailing over the visionary barrier, justified the scepticism which had been cherished by the most intelligent sharers in the former enterprise. On the 5th of August, their progress was impeded by ice, and Captain Parry was induced to shape his course southerly. This soon brought him within the capes of a large inlet, down which he sailed until the 8th, when he was again arrested by a compact line of ice stretching from shore to shore. This capacious strait, branching off from the main channel, probably communicates with some of the deep and unexplored indentations of Hudson’s Bay, and has been named Prince Regent’s Inlet. Having been thus intercepted a second time, the ships again sailed to the northward, and on the 20th, in a higher latitude than that in which their previous attempts had been made, obtained a passage to the westward. It being so far ascertained that the opening distinguished hitherto as Lancaster’s Sound, is a large and open channel, the name of Barrow’s Straits was given to it. The success which had attended the navigation, seems to have elevated the spirits and the hopes of all engaged in it; and the following extract will illustrate the fine enthusiasm by which Capt. Parry and his associates were animated.

‘ Though two-thirds of the month of August had now elapsed, I had every reason to be satisfied with the progress which we had hitherto made. I calculated upon the sea being still navigable for six weeks to come, and probably more if the state of the ice would permit us to edge away to the southward in our progress westerly : our prospects, indeed, were truly exhilarating ; the ships had suffered no injury ; we had plenty of provisions ; crews in high health and spirits : a sea, if not open, at least navigable ; and a zealous and unanimous determi-

nation in both officers and men to accomplish, by all possible means, the grand object on which we had the happiness to be employed.'

*Parry.*

From the period of entering Barrow's Straits, the movements of the compasses had become languid and irregular; but, in Regent's Inlet, every remainder of magnetic energy ceased, the directive power of the needle becoming completely subservient to the attraction of the vessel, and the binnacles were actually removed as 'useless lumber.' In the course of their navigation, the ships crossed to the northward of the magnetic pole, and passed over one of those spots on the globe where the north pole of the needle would have pointed due south. 'This spot would, 'in all probability, at this time,' remarks Captain Parry, 'be somewhere not far from the meridian of 100° west of Greenwich.' In the evening of the 4th of September, the vessels passed the meridian of 110°, for the attainment of which the crews became entitled to 5000*l.*, the first bounty 'in the scale of 'rewards' proposed by the Order in Council to adventurers in this quarter. Their course was now beset with increasing obstacles: the season was advancing, and dangers seemed accumulating at every movement; yet still, these gallant men pressed on till forward movements became impracticable, and it was necessary to recede for the purpose of finding safe shelter for the winter. On the 20th of September, after an appalling series of difficulties and hazards, the Griper was forced on shore by the ice. Her commander, Lieutenant Liddon, had been for some time past, reduced to a state of extreme debility by rheumatism, and Captain Parry considerately

'proposed to him to allow himself to be removed on board the Hecla, until the Griper should be got afloat again. To this proposal, however, he would by no means listen, assuring me that he should be the last man, instead of the first, to leave the Griper; and he remained seated against the lee side of the deck, during the greater part of the day, giving the necessary orders.'

Some idea of the dangers previously encountered, may be formed from the following description of the situation of the ships two days before.

'From noon until six o'clock in the evening, we were favoured with a fine breeze from the southward and westward, so that we got back a considerable distance; but no sooner had the wind become light than our progress was stopped by the bay-ice, notwithstanding every effort was made to force through by breaking it up with capstan bars, blocks of wood, and by rolling a boat amongst it under the ship's bows. At the very time that our progress was thus arrested, the necessity of getting on became more evident than ever, for a large floe was observed to be moving to the westward with considerable velocity, and at the same time closing in with the land, from which we were

not distant above a quarter of a mile. Our situation was therefore a very precarious one indeed, but as it was impossible to avoid the danger that threatened us, we let go an anchor in ten fathoms of water, after being driven within less than a cable's length of the shore. Here we awaited with great anxiety the approach of the floe, for although we were driven towards the shore by it, we were not actually in contact with the floe itself, but were carried along with the bay-ice that it impelled towards the land. Close to where we anchored, there happened, very fortunately for us, to be a large hummock, or rather a pile of heavy pieces of ice aground, so that when the floe arrived, this pile received the shock of it, and the collision was certainly tremendous; for immense masses of the floe were broken off, and piled up on the top of what was already aground, from which most of them fell, or滑 back again on the floe, and this operation continued for some time, until at length the force of the floe, which was at first going at the rate of two miles per hour, was almost entirely spent. It is unnecessary to observe, that, had the ships been caught between the floe and the hummock just mentioned, their destruction would have been inevitable.'

Fisher.

Under circumstances such as these, perseverance was no longer practicable, and it became highly expedient to lose no time in returning to a secure harbour, which was at length found in lat.  $74^{\circ} 47' 15''$ . long.  $110^{\circ} 48' 30''$ . W. The ships were roofed over; and in Captain Parry's plate, they have a most snug and comfortable appearance in the midst of darkness and desolation. An interesting detail is given of the various measures adopted for the preservation of health, and the promotion of useful occupations. Among the amusements which were adopted, the most singular and successful suggestion was that of stage performances, which was carried into execution to the infinite gratification of the crew, who expressed a more than ordinary delight at a new piece, composed by Captain Parry, and entitled 'The North-West Passage.'

\* Although it may perhaps to some appear a frivolous anecdote what I am about to mention, yet I cannot help noticing it, as it tends to shew the favourable reception with which the dramatic piece in question was received, and at the same time exhibits in a very noted manner the misapplication of words by men who make use of terms or expressions which they do not thoroughly understand themselves. Whilst the curtain was down between the first and second acts, all the men were conversing together, extolling the merits of the new play, when the boatswain, wishing to pay a higher compliment to it than any other person, said that it was much superior to fine or excellent (the epithets of approbation used by the seamen); that it was "in fact, real philosophy!"

Fisher.

Another source of amusement, much more questionable in point of expediency than the former, was proposed in the establishment of a newspaper, called the North Georgia Gazette,

Mr. Fisher, in his private journal, expresses his apprehension that it might lead to personalities and consequent ill-humour; but Captain Parry consented to the measure from full confidence in the discretion of his officers, and, in his published journal, records his satisfaction with the result. As the work itself is before the world, we shall defer any remarks on its literary character until the close of this article; but we take this occasion to observe that, in one part especially, it betrays strong symptoms of the spirit which Mr. Fisher anticipated. On the whole, the long detention in Winter Harbour, seems to have passed away in tolerable comfort, and with as little *ennui* as the local circumstances of the crew would allow. The wolves and foxes at times afforded them some small amusement; the novel phenomena connected with the revolutions of the sun, and with the brilliant auroras, parhelia, and lunar halos, gratified both the vulgar and scientific eye; and the different operations connected with the domestic arrangements, provided regular and salutary employment. Of the meteoric appearances, several diagrams are inserted in Captain Parry's volume; and we shall cite from Mr. Fisher the description of a beautiful lunar halo which was observed January 1, 1820.

' About 11 o'clock this forenoon a very beautiful halo,  $45^{\circ}$  in diameter, was observed round the moon. It was intersected by two luminous columns of a yellowish white colour, which crossed each other at right angles over the moon's disc. The breadth of this cross, or rather the columns that formed it, were equal to the moon's diameter in her immediate vicinity; but, as they receded from her, they became narrower, so that at the place where they touched the halo, they had tapered to such a small point that they were scarcely visible. In those points of the halo, where they terminated, were luminous spots, or *paraselenæ*: the two horizontal ones, or those situated in that part of the circle where the horizontal column of light ended, exhibited in the prismatic colours very beautifully, and each of them had a long tail proceeding from them, similar to that which I described on a former occasion, when mentioning the appearance of a phenomenon of the same kind. The luminous spot, or *paraselenæ*, in that part of the halo immediately above the moon, was of a very faint colour, when compared with the two just mentioned, and the fourth one, that is to say if it existed, was hid from us, owing to its being, (as well as a segment of the halo) below the horizon, the moon's altitude being only about  $18^{\circ}$ . The halo itself was not equally bright all round, for in those parts that were equidistant, that is  $45^{\circ}$  from the *paraselenæ*, it was of a very faint colour, and from these points towards the *paraselenæ* it became gradually brighter. Like the Aurora Borealis, its intervention did not obstruct the light of the stars that it chanced to pass over, for the planet Mars happened to be situated in the brightest part of the horizontal luminous column, and yet it appeared as bright as usual; its reddish colour seemed, indeed, to be a little increased in its brilliancy.' pp. 167—8.

Fisher.

Captain Parry, however, distinctly affirms that, 'contrary to former experience,' the stars shone more faintly through the more brilliant parts of the aurora; and in February, 1820, one was seen, of which he expresses his 'confidence,' that it 'sensibly dimmed' Aldebaran and the Pleiades. Ample opportunity was, of course, afforded to the whole party, both to observe and to experience the various effects of cold. On one occasion when several individuals had lost their track in chase of a wounded deer, and were thus exposed to the inclemencies of the atmosphere during a long period, and under the pressure of exhaustion and apprehension, they exhibited on their return the exact symptoms of intoxication; and Captain Parry has recorded his suspicion, that many individuals similarly affected may have received unmerited punishment on this imputation. At another time, the observatory having taken fire, and the extremities of some of those who were engaged in extinguishing it, being frost-bitten, when the parts injured were immersed in cold water for the purpose of thawing them, a 'film of ice was immediately formed on its surface.' Nor were the crew free from annoyance within the vessels, for, notwithstanding the care taken to remove all appearances of damp or formation of ice, when the weather began to relax, they scraped from the sides of the lower deck, a coating of ice, that filled above a hundred buckets,

'each containing from five to six gallons, being the accumulation which had taken place in an interval of less than four weeks. It may be observed that this vapour must principally have been produced from the men's breath, and from the steam of their victuals during meals; that from the coppers being effectually carried on deck.'

Captain Parry took advantage of the return of a somewhat less rigorous season, to determine, as far as might be practicable within the limits of a short journey, the nature of the land which had afforded them so long a shelter. The party of officers and men, under his own direction, took a northward track, and in lat.  $75^{\circ} 34' 47''$  N. and long:  $12^{\circ} 18''$  East of Winter harbour, again stood on the sea-shore, thus determining, by this and other circumstances, the probable insularity of the large tract which had received the name of Melville Island. After an absence of fifteen days, they returned, and every preparation was made to be in readiness for seizing the first favourable opportunity of leaving their ten months' residence. On the first of August, an open channel to the westward presented itself, and the ships got under sail; but, on the 16th, after an exhausting and hazardous navigation, the ice was found impenetrable, and they were compelled to return, having nearly reached the 114th degree of West longitude. Skill and exertion had done their utmost. Captain Parry and his gallant crew had per-

sisted until further perseverance would have been, not resolution, but unprofitable, perhaps destructive pugnacity; and we believe that the wise determination to desist from protracted efforts in this direction, cost more painful sensations to his mind, than the determination to proceed at all hazards, could possibly have done. A close survey was made of the western coast of Baffin's Bay, while the ships were on their homeward voyage, and the results are given in an interesting chart. With the exception of an interview with a party of Esquimaux, and of a severe storm which caused the *Hecla* to carry away her bowsprit, foremast, and main top-mast, nothing of importance occurred until their safe return.

We have very little to offer by way of comment on this memorable voyage. It has, we conceive, ascertained beyond all rational scepticism, the existence of a North-west passage, and it reflects the highest credit, not only on the ability and firmness of Captain Parry, but on the talent and decision manifested by Mr. Barrow, who is understood to have been the strenuous advocate of the enterprise, amid all the discouragements which Captain Ross's representations were evidently designed to perpetuate. With respect to the actual transit of the intervening sea, no opinion of its practicability can be hazarded with any approach to certainty. Captain Parry attributes the difficulty, perhaps the impossibility, of achieving such a passage, to the increased obstacles attending Arctic navigation, in proportion to the distance, from a permanently open sea. Hence, if the mid-way voyage could be accomplished, he would reckon on completing the remainder with comparative ease. In the present instance, the attempt was unsuccessful from the failure of the land along which it was necessary to keep in avoidance of the ice; but, from the less rigid climate, and from the continuity of the American coast, the navigation along the southern side of Barrow's strait would be more likely to succeed. With a view to easier access, he proposes the exploration of Cumberland Strait, Roe's Welcome, and Repulse bay, as probable communications with the Polar sea.

Respecting the last work on our list, we feel reluctant to say much. Taking into consideration all the circumstances under which it was composed, the *Winter Chronicle* is, on the whole, creditable to the talents and good humour of the gentlemen who furnished its different papers. Some of the poetry, in particular, is substantially good; and a few specimens express sentiments of piety which we were happy to meet with in such a quarter. A few extracts will, however, give a much more satisfactory intimation of the quality of this publication, than could be communicated by general criticisms.

## \* ARCTIC MISERIES.

\* Going out in a winter morning for the purpose of taking a walk, and before you have proceeded ten yards from the ship, getting a cold bath in the cook's steep-hole.\*

\* When on a hunting excursion, and being close to a fine deer, after several attempts to fire, discovering that your piece is neither primed nor loaded, while the animal's four legs are employed in carrying away the body.

\* Setting out with a piece of new bread in your pocket on a shooting party, and when you feel inclined to eat it, having occasion to observe that it is so frozen that your teeth will not penetrate it.

\* Being called from table by intelligence that a wolf is approaching the vessels, which, on closer inspection, proves to be a dog: on going again below, detecting the cat in running off with your dinner.

\* Returning on board your ship after an evening visit, in a contemplative humour, and being roused from a pleasing reverie by the close embrace of a bear.

\* Sitting down in anticipation of a comfortable breakfast, and finding that the tea, by mistake, is made of salt water.\*

\* Reflections on seeing the sun set for a period of three months.

November, 1819.

\* Behold yon glorious orb, whose feeble ray  
Mocks the proud glare of Summer's livelier day,  
His noon-tide beam shot upward thro' the sky,  
Scarce gilds the vault of Heaven's blue canopy—  
A fainter yet, and yet a fainter light—  
And lo! he leaves us now to one long cheerless night.

\* And is his glorious course for ever o'er?  
And has he set indeed—to rise no more?  
To us no more shall Spring's enlivening beam  
Unlock the fountains of the fetter'd stream—  
No more the wild bird carol through the sky,  
And cheer yon mountains with rude melody?

\* \* \* \* \*

\* Once more shall Spring her energy resume,  
And chase the horrors of this wintry gloom—  
Once more shall Summer's animating ray  
Enliven nature with perpetual day—  
Yon radiant orb, with self-inherent light,  
Shall rise, and dissipate the shades of night,  
In peerless splendour re-possess the sky,  
And shine in renovated majesty.

\* In yon departing orb methinks I see  
A counterpart of frail mortality.

\* A hole in the ice for steeping salt meat, &c.

Emblem of man ! when life's declining sun  
Proclaims this awful truth, " thy race is run."  
His sun once set, its bright effulgence gone,  
All, all is darkness—as it ne'er had shone !

Yet not *for ever* is man's glory fled,  
His name *for ever* " numbered with the dead."  
Like yon bright orb, th' immortal part of man  
Shall end in glory, as it first began—  
Like Him, encircled in celestial light,  
Shall rise triumphant 'midst the shades of night,  
Her native energies again resume,  
Dispel the dreary winter of the tomb,  
And, bidding Death with all its terrors fly,  
Bloom in perpetual Spring thro' all eternity.'

To the Editor of the Winter Chronicle.

\* Sir,

I do not know whether you take cognizance of such matters as I am now to address you upon; but if you do, I hope you will endeavour to remedy the grievance I complain of. However improbable it may seem to you in these times of somnolency, I like to read for an hour or two now and then, and even to write a little occasionally, beyond the daily repetition of "moderate breezes and cloudy," and the formal assertion that we have been "employed as necessary."

Under these circumstances, added to the great scarcity of light in our own cabins at this season, you will, I am certain, enter into my feelings of annoyance, at the innumerable disturbances to which our tables are subject; I allude to the habits which some members of our community have acquired in earlier life, and which they continue to practise daily, to the interruption of the more industrious, and to the absolute preclusion of all serious occupation. I have endeavoured to class these annoyances, or rather those who practise them, under separate heads, of which the first are the *Whistlers*, who, having a tolerable ear themselves, seem to forget that the rest of us have any ears at all, and are continually serenading us with "Molly, put the kettle on," or the "Duke of York's March," with variations, to the utter discomfiture of every reader within hearing. Of the *Whistlers* there are frequently more than one, and in that case the process is as follows: *Whistler* the first (whom I shall call A) commences a tune: *Whistler* the second (B) takes it up about the third or fourth bar, and accompanies him to the end of the stave, by which time A has exhausted his wind, and stopt to replenish his lungs. In the mean-time B continues, and just as you are flattering yourself with a hope that *he* also will soon be winded, and allow you to pursue your employments, a third *Whistler* (C) at the other end of the table, unexpectedly opens his pipes, and takes a spell at the bellows; soon after which, A once more joins the concert with renewed vigour,—and so on *ad libitum*.

Second are the *Hummers*, who are closely allied to the first class, and are distinguished by employing the greater part of the day in humming songs, which they usually do out of tune, and *always* out of

time. They are in general more sentimental than the Whistlers in their selection of tunes, confining themselves to the Irish melodies, or some plaintive Scotch ditty. Of these they will hum you a detached bar or two occasionally, in the most pathetic strain imaginable, and are particularly fond of filling up in this manner all the little intervals of time, which are not easily disposed of in any other way, such as while the ink is drying on one side of the paper, or while they are mending their pens or warming their fingers. Perhaps, Mr. Editor, you can recommend some mode of proceeding by which it shall necessarily fall out that all our pens want mending, and all our fingers warming, exactly at the same instant. We could then all have our *hum* at the same time, and no disturbance would result, as at present, to any individual of the party.

The third class are the *Drummers*, who, to borrow a well-known joke from Joe Miller, were certainly born to make a great noise in the world. They have, like the Whistlers, a tolerable ear for music, and occupy a great deal of their time in drumming most musically with both hands upon the table; they usually join the Whistlers, to whom they may, indeed, be considered as an accompaniment. They have been lately practising a new mode of drumming, which is performed by placing the wrist upon the table, and then bringing the nails of each finger, beginning with the little one, in quick succession, one after the other, upon the wood, or what is considered more sonorous and musical, upon a hard-covered book, which they keep by them *shut* for the purpose. I beg leave strongly to recommend this mode, as infinitely more neat and gentleman-like than the other, which consists in merely thumping the table unmercifully with both hands, like a common drummer, and making the candlesticks and inkstands dance a hornpipe. Perhaps these first three classes might be employed with advantage for a couple of hours daily, in whistling, humming, and drumming to the ships' companies when they take exercise: and a convenient spot for practising their arts might be selected in the neighbourhood of the boat-house, or the green ravine.\*

These classes are followed by the *Bangers*, *Blowers*, *Sniffers*, *Door-slammers*, and *Growlers*, who are described with considerable humour.

The decorations of Captain Parry's volume are excellently got up. The charts are most satisfactory, and the plates aquatinted by Westall from his own drawings, are just what might have been expected from so skilful an artist, working on such valuable materials as the sketches of Lieutenants Beechey and Hoppner. We should, however, have preferred a different mode of execution in the views of headlands and lines of coast. In a volume so costly, it might surely have been found practicable to finish them in the interesting and skilful style of the similar representations in the voyages of \*Staunton, Vancouver,

and Flinders. Much, we suspect, has been sacrificed to rapidity of publication. The Appendix contains a large and valuable series of scientific collections, and a supplement, containing Zoology, Botany, Geology, &c. is promised.

1. Art. VI. *Principles of Political Economy*, considered with a View to their practical Application. By the Rev. T. R. Malthus, M.A. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. pp. 601. London. 1820.
2. *Observations on certain verbal Disputes in Political Economy*, particularly relating to Value, and to Demand and Supply. 8vo. pp. 84. London. 1821.
3. *An Inquiry into those Principles respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus, from which it is concluded that Taxation and the Maintenance of Unproductive Consumers can be conducive to the Progress of Wealth*. 8vo. pp. 128. London. 1821.

NO fewer than four distinct treatises on Political Economy are now laying claim to public attention; the “*Nouveaux Principes*” of M. Sismondi, of which we gave an extended account in a former volume; the work of the not less celebrated J. B. Say, of which a translation from the fourth edition has just appeared; the singularly novel and somewhat paradoxical treatise of Mr. Ricardo; and the present volume from the learned author of the *Essay on Population*. To these we shall very speedily have to add, a work on the Elements of the science, from the pen of the Historian of British India, which we anticipate with no small satisfaction. Should that very acute thinker and lucid writer bring to the subject, thus thoroughly sifted by discussion, a mind unshackled by theory, and unbiassed by party opinions, he will, we make no doubt, furnish a volume of more practical utility than any work which has appeared since the time of Adam Smith. At present, our knowledge on several of the most interesting questions may be considered as in a transitive state,—as ‘in the making.’ A large portion of each of the works referred to, is occupied with controversial matter; and much that is valuable in them is obscured by an affectation of mathematical precision, and an arbitrary or technical phraseology. The work of M. Sismondi appears to us to be the most free from these faults, on which very account it seems likely to attract the least attention: if not the most ingenious, it is, perhaps, the most elegant treatise that has appeared on the subject. But any competent reader will not fail to be struck with the intellectual strength and stature of the well-matched combatants in this strife of words. Since the days of scholastic controversy, there has not been started a subject of pure abstract inquiry, either so abstruse, or so tran-

scendently important, as that which is now engaging some of the first thinkers of the day in protracted debate. On the part of the public at large, there is a rather pettish impatience of the dispute. Those persons who have no other way of making up their minds on the subject than by adhering to some *authority*, are exceedingly perplexed at finding men of equal authority, in these matters at issue; and they are ready to imagine that nothing is known, because some things are disputed. For ourselves, we cannot but look on with considerable complacency, feeling assured that, ultimately, a real advance will have been made in this most important of human sciences, the true object of which, is to discover the means of most effectually promoting the welfare of man in a state of society.

Mr. Malthus has condescended in his Introduction, to enter into a vindication of the usefulness of the science itself. We agree with the author of the "Observations," that this was a work of supererogation. Those who understand the subject, will require no arguments in favour of its importance: on those who do not understand it, his reasonings will be thrown away, since they leave undiminished the difficulties and perplexities which repel such persons from the study. What is chiefly wanted, is, not to prove the usefulness of the science, but the existence of it. It is the property of all true science, that the truth of the propositions of which it consists, should, when the terms employed are understood, be self-evident. There is a great deal of certain truth in the conclusions which have been arrived at in the pursuit of this science, which is far from being self-evident, because, unhappily, the terms employed are of equivocal meaning. To remedy this obscurity, Mr. Malthus, like some of his predecessors, has recourse to definitions. But definitions, which comprise a number of complex ideas, are in themselves the most difficult things to be understood by the novice, and the last things respecting which controveirtists can bring themselves to agree. Instead, therefore, of being placed at the threshold of the study, they should be reserved as the conclusions to which it leads. There is, we think, a great deal of force and point in the remarks which the Author of the Observations makes on this source of mere verbal discussion. Mr. Malthus enumerates among the 'main propositions of the science' on which great differences of opinion still exist, the *definitions* of wealth and of productive labour, the *nature* and measures of value, &c. One might have thought that, with respect to the import of so simple a word as *wealth*, a difference of opinion could hardly be seriously maintained. Yet, Mr. Malthus tells us, in the very outset of his work, that, 'in reality, the more the subject is considered, the more it will appear difficult, if not impossible, to fix on' a *definition* of the

word 'not liable to some objection.' Then why define the word at all, seeing that, in its indefinite sense, it is perfectly intelligible, and that the attempt arbitrarily to define it, is the source of the whole difficulty in question? Mr. Malthus would reply, that 'it seems *natural* to look for some definition of those objects, the increase or decrease of which we are about to estimate.' Its seeming natural to look for one, is not a very philosophical reason for adopting a method in itself ineligible. And in truth, to state the object of inquiry in intelligible language, is one thing; to embark in a verbal dispute at the beginning of such inquiry, is another thing. The first is both natural and necessary; the latter is almost absurd. But, continues Mr. M.,

' So important is an appropriate definition, that perhaps it is not going too far to say, that the comparative merits of the systems of the Economists and Adam Smith depend mainly upon their different definitions of wealth and of productive labour. If the definitions which the Economists have given of wealth and of productive labour be correct, *their* system has the advantage: if the definitions which Adam Smith has given of wealth and of productive labour be the most correct, *his* system is superior.'

Here the reader will naturally ask, What, then, is a definition? Mr. Malthus should have defined this word also. By the definition of a word, persons in general understand the conventional meaning or acceptance of a word; not the opinion of an individual as to the nature of the thing. The Economists hold, that the produce of the soil is the only source of wealth. But, to maintain that that produce is the *definition* of wealth,—to use the term wealth as meaning such produce, or as synonymous with it, is an abuse of words as perplexing as it is arbitrary. And to set out with such a definition, would be in fact to propound as a dogma in the commencement of the inquiry, the conclusion which it had for its object to establish. Adam Smith has nowhere given 'a very regular and formal definition of wealth.' And yet Adam Smith's work is far more perspicuous, and his use of terms far more uniform and correct than that of any subsequent writer. Mr. Malthus's own definition is clearly exceptionable. 'I should define wealth,' he says, 'to be those *material* objects which are necessary, useful, or agreeable to mankind.' But are not air and water material objects, which are both necessary and agreeable? And yet, the former in no case, and the latter only under peculiar circumstances, are capable of appropriation and definite valuation, or of becoming sources of wealth. Supposing we admit its correctness, however, what is gained to the science by adopting this technical definition in preference to Lord Lauderdale's loose and all-comprehensive expressions—'all that man desires as useful and delightful to him?' Mr.

Malthus himself speaks of other *kinds* of wealth besides that to which he would limit the inquiries of the political economist. But it would, as has been justly remarked, be better to limit our inquiries by a new definition of political economy, than by a new and arbitrary definition of wealth.

We question whether there is not a radical fallacy in using the term wealth in this purely abstract sense. We have no idea of wealth but as a possession: appropriation is an essential part of the idea; and to speak of a wealth belonging to nobody, is a solecism. We may distinguish individual wealth from national wealth, using the latter phrase collectively; but material objects in themselves considered, are not wealth, since wealth consists in the abundance of those materials in relation to the possessor of them. Riches and poverty are alike relative terms; and thus, Adam Smith defines them most accurately when he says, that 'a man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessities, conveniences, and amusements of human life'; that is, according to the degree in which he possesses the permanent means of satisfying his real or artificial wants. With regard to what constitutes a man's wealth, it may perhaps be said, with M. Sismondi, to be that surplus portion of the produce of labour which is available for future use. For land itself is not wealth till it has become appropriated and brought under cultivation, and it then represents, as wealth, the labour which has been expended upon it. Besides which, land, not less than the fixed capital of the manufacturer, is, to the purchaser, the produce of labour; and the possession of land always implies either an original purchase, or a grant answering to purchase. This representation of the nature and origin of wealth as the accumulated surplus of production, is at least intelligible and tangible, and, without involving any hypothesis, conveys a distinct idea of the object of inquiry.

A similar schism prevails with regard to the terms productive and unproductive labourer. Productive of what? Of wealth, say the Economists; and since agricultural labour is the only species of labour that originates wealth, that alone is, according to them, productive labour. Adam Smith, on the other hand, extends its application to every species of labour which realizes itself in exchangeable commodities. This is intelligible: why then embarrass the question by connecting the term, as Mr. Malthus does, with wealth? 'This mode of applying the term "productive labour, to the labour which is productive of wealth, however wealth may be defined is,' he says, 'obviously useful, and, with a view to clearness and consistency in the use of the terms of political economy, should always be adhered to.' To us it appears the reverse of useful. The meaning of the word wealth is disputed, or is indefinite; some writers under-

standing by it the produce of agricultural labour, others resolving it into utility, a third considering its basis to be exchangeable value, a fourth defining it by material objects; nevertheless, we are, for *clearness' sake*, it seems, by this equivocal word, to fix the meaning of another word!! But why 'productive of wealth'? What is produced by any description of labour, is either commodities, or an additional value attaching to commodities. In fact, the term would seem to require no explanation whatever. To the question, Productive of what? it were as sufficient reply to say, of produce. The words 'productive labour,' might seem indeed to be a pleonasm, since labour, in the usual acceptation of the word, must be productive; were it not that, under the general denomination of *labourers*, those are included who live upon the salaries of personal service,—professional men, domestics, and the agents of government. The labour of these classes, (if such it must be termed,) not being in co-operation with capital, but being supported out of the *profits* of the community, originates no produce or value,—is, in that sense, unproductive. Whether these *non*-productive labourers contribute to the *wealth* of a country, will admit of a question, the solution of which depends on what we understand by wealth; they contribute in no small degree to its welfare, its comfort, and its greatness; but that they contribute nothing directly to the productive powers of a country, amounts almost to a truism. And what then? Why, some such distinction as this, says Mr. Malthus,

' must be considered as so clearly the corner-stone of Adam Smith's work, and the foundation on which the main body of his reasonings rests, that, if it be denied, the superstructure which he has raised upon it must fall to the ground.....It appears to me in some degree inconsistent in those who allow of no distinction in the different kinds of labour, to attribute any considerable value to an *Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations*, in which the increase of the quantity and skill of what is called productive labour, is the main hinge on which the progress of national opulence and property is made to turn.'

' No, Sir,' rejoins Mr. Say; ' that is not the corner-stone of Smith's work; for when that stone is removed, the edifice, although imperfect, remains as solid as before. What will eternally sustain that excellent book is, that it proclaims in every page, that the exchangeable value of things is the foundation of all riches.' ' To separate this essential character from the definition of wealth,' adds this paradoxical Frenchman, ' is to plunge science again into the depths of obscurity.' No, again, says Mr. Ricardo; Adam Smith knew better than to confound exchangeable value and riches, or to make value the

foundation of wealth. Riches depend on abundance, consist in abundance; the exchangeable value of things is diminished by their abundance: how then can value and riches be the same thing? Adam Smith's book must be eternally sustained by some other part of it, some other corner-stone than this. But, leaving these philosophers to decide on what really constitutes the chief merit of the work of their common Master, we are content to take Adam Smith's book as it is, satisfied that his terms, if not wholly unexceptionable, are sufficiently definite and correct for his purpose, yet, that his reasonings in no degree depend on the use of any particular technical expressions. The distinction which he points out between productive and unproductive services, really exists, whatever classification be adopted. Yet, were the terms, productive and unproductive labourer, laid aside entirely, and agricultural labourer, manufacturing labourer, mercantile labourer, used instead, science would neither retrograde, nor be plunged into the depths of obscurity.

Mr. Malthus's second chapter treats 'of the nature and measures of Value.' Here, again, a most unprofitable discussion has been raised about the proper definition of the word, which any man of plain sense would have cut short at once, by asking the controvertist what sort of value he meant to speak of, whether intrinsic value, that is, value in use,—real exchangeable value, however estimated,—or nominal value, that is, market price. As these are three distinct ideas, referring to three distinct facts, it might seem convenient to distinguish them by separate adjuncts. But, to use the simple word *value* as restricted to one of these senses, is to sacrifice perspicuity to conciseness. Mr. Malthus, however, thinks, 'it may be questioned, whether in fact we are in the habit of using the term in the first of these senses; ' although he himself, only two pages before, (p. 48) remarks, that 'Adam Smith fully allows the *value* and importance of many sorts of labour which he calls unproductive; ' and, in the same paragraph, he speaks of the *value* of the labours of the moralist, and the *value* of Newton's discoveries. What, indeed, can be more common than to speak of setting a value on a thing on account of some particular associations connected with it? To restrict value to price, would be just as accurate, as to maintain that estimable means that which may be estimated in pounds, shillings, and pence, and that to appreciate a man is to set a price upon him. The axiom, that every man of value has his price, would then be strictly true. But exchangeable value, says M. Say, is the only value we know of in political economy.

'If you choose to say,' remarks the Author of the *Observations*, 'that political economy does not *treat* of any other sort of value, well and good: but the limited nature of political economy cannot

alter the meanings in fact affixed to words. And why is there no other? *i. e.* why is value in use discarded? Because, he says, "celle la seule (value in exchange) est sujette à des lois fixes," &c. Now, value in exchange, according to M. Say, *depends*, in part, on value in use, or what he calls utility. How then can it be exclusively subject to fixed laws, when it depends on that which is without fixed laws?"

Mr. Malthus seems to be of the same opinion as M. Say, (if we understand him aright,) as to the foundation of value in exchange, since he represents it as originating in 'a reciprocal demand in the party possessing the article wanted, for the article proposed to be exchanged for it.'

'When this reciprocal demand exists, the *rate* at which the exchange is made, or the portion of one commodity which is given for an assigned portion of the other, will depend upon the *relative estimation* in which they are held by the parties, founded on the desire to possess, and the difficulty or facility of procuring possession.'

That is to say, founded on their *value in use*, their *scarcity*, and the *cost of production*. Mr. Ricardo, however, considers the only basis of exchangeable value, or, to speak more correctly, the only *measure* of real value in exchange, to be, the *cost of production*. Scarcity he puts out of the question, as he confines his reasonings to such commodities as can be increased in quantity by the exertion of human industry, and on the production of which, competition acts without restraint. 'The quantity of 'labour realized in commodities,' is that which, in his opinion, 'regulates their exchangeable value.' That is, ultimately regulates it, when no restraint is laid upon competition, or upon supply. This doctrine, Mr. Malthus combats at considerable length, asserting that, in all transactions of sale, 'there is a principle which determines prices, quite independently of the 'cost of their production,' and that this principle, namely the relation of the demand to the supply, determines the natural price as well as the market price of articles; any alteration in this relation of demand to supply, being sufficient to overcome the influence of the cost of production, even in that class of commodities the market price of which is generally coincident with the cost. He admits, however, that the *necessary* condition of a *regular supply*, is, that the cost of production should be realized; which amounts to much the same as Mr. Ricardo's doctrine, that the *cost of production* is the ultimate cause of exchangeable value, or the basis of price.

Mr. Malthus cannot agree either with Adam Smith or Mr. Ricardo in thinking that, 'in that rude state of society which precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labour necessary for acquiring different objects, seems to be the only

‘circumstance which can afford any *rule* for exchanging them for one another.’ He is of opinion that, after a certain time, an *average* value would be formed, founded upon all the offers of one article compared with all the offers of other articles, which would become the current or established value of all commodities in frequent use. But, before this general valuation of commodities relatively to each other should have taken place to any considerable extent, the introduction of an exchangeable medium, by which the nominal and relative value of all commodities might be estimated, would, he thinks, have been found necessary, and have been resorted to. All this is matter of hypothesis. The probability is, that, in the early stages of society, *no rule* of exchange would be adhered to. In accidental and arbitrary transactions, such as the bargains of barter which take place between civilized and barbarous nations, or between individuals of the same nation in a rude state of society, exchanges would be subjected neither to the rule of cost, nor to the rule of relative value. Mr. Ricardo could not mean to affirm that any rule would in all cases be adhered to; and Mr. Malthus’s notion, that an average value would, after a certain time, be determined upon, implies that, prior to that certain time, no rule would have been adopted. This average value can hardly be considered as a *rule*; the supposition being this, that accidental circumstances, namely all the offers of one article compared with all the offers of another, (e. g. all the offers of bread compared with all the offers of venison,) would, in the absence of any fixed rule, determine the exchangeable value of commodities. But this does not invalidate the correctness of the opinion, that the only circumstance which could afford a rule, would seem to be, the proportion between the quantities of labour respectively necessary for their production. Besides, in the early stage of society, competition, if not restrained, would be extremely limited; and supply would be limited. Mr. Ricardo’s rule supposes the absence of all monopoly, and a regular supply. Mr. Malthus says:

‘It will be most readily allowed, that the labour employed in the production of a commodity, including the labour employed in the production of the necessary capital, is the principal ingredient among the component parts of price, and, other things being equal, will determine the relative value of all the commodities in the same country, or, more correctly speaking, in the same place. But in looking back to any past period, we should ascertain the relative values of commodities at once, and with much more accuracy, by collecting their prices in the money of the time. For this purpose, therefore, an inquiry into the quantity of labour which each commodity had cost, would be of no use. And if we were to infer that, because a particular commodity 300 years ago had cost ten days’ labour, and now costs twenty, its exchangeable value had doubled, we should certainly run the risk of drawing a conclusion most extremely wide of the truth.’

We do not quite understand the drift of this last remark. If a commodity required ten days' labour three hundred years ago, we cannot entertain it as a conceivable supposition, that it should now require the labour of twenty days to produce it. If Mr. Malthus means that it costs the wages of twenty days in money or corn, instead of what were at a former period the money or corn wages of ten days' labour, the difference in the cost of the commodity would be a difference of price, not of exchangeable value, because all other things would have risen in the same proportion in reference to wages, or to the medium of exchange. But the rise of wages has nothing to do with the quantity of labour required in order to production; and it is this which Mr. Ricardo considers as the measure of value. Now, were we to infer, that because a particular commodity, which three hundred years ago required ten days' labour in its production, now costs but five days' labour, its exchangeable value had fallen, we should certainly run little risk of drawing an erroneous conclusion. But the error in Mr. Ricardo's reasonings, consists in his imagining that it must have fallen in exactly the same proportion. The cost of production is, as it appears to us, the real foundation of value in exchange; and it is that natural (Mr. Malthus says necessary) price to which market price is always tending, but with which, perhaps, it is never identified. As a *measure* of price, therefore, the labour realized in commodities, is entirely fallacious: first, because, in order to its giving a correct result, we must previously ascertain, that no accidental or artificial circumstances were operating so as to affect either the supply of the commodities in question, or their relative value independent of their cost, at one of the periods brought into comparison: secondly, because labour itself is unsusceptible of definite measurement. Adam Smith has observed, 'that it is often difficult to ascertain the proportion between two different quantities of labour.' Upon this, our Observer briskly remarks :

' So, then, properties which, according to himself, constitute part of the meaning of "more labour,"—properties which must be valued or measured before we can tell *what* the "quantity of labour" (our criterion) is,—are very difficult to value and measure, and are never, in fact, valued or measured at all; matters being settled (as far as relates to those properties) "not by any accurate measure, but by the "higgling and bargaining of the market," &c. This seems to be rather like making crooked the ruler you are proposing to measure with. .... When one of the reasons why labour is not used as a measure, and other things are, is, (as Dr. Smith admits,) because its quantity is not always so ascertainable as that of other things, and is to be ascertained by the help of those other things; this seems an objection, not merely of a practical nature, but applying to the root of its pretensions to be considered as a measure even in theory.'

The paradox sported by Mr. Ricardo, 'that commodities may

' be lowered in value in consequence of a real rise of wages, but ' never can be raised from that cause,' is ably analysed and refuted by Mr. Malthus. By a real rise of wages, Mr. R. here means a rise relative to the profits of capital, or a fall of profits; and ' undoubtedly,' remarks Mr. Malthus, ' no one could have thought the proposition paradoxical, had he stated that a fall of profits would occasion a fall of price in those commodities, where, from the quantity of fixed capital employed, the profits of that capital had before formed the principal ingredient in the cost of production.'

' On the other hand, there is a large class of commodities, where, from the absence of fixed capital, and the rapidity of the returns of the circulating capital from a day to a year, the proportion which the value of the capital bears to the quantity of labour which it employs, is very small. A capital of a hundred pounds, which was returned every week, could employ as much labour annually as 2,600l. the returns of which came in only at the end of the year; and if the capital were returned nearly every day, as it is practically in some few cases, the advance of little more than the wages of a man for a single day, might pay above 300 days' labour in the course of a year. Now it is quite evident, that out of the profits of these trifling capitals, it would not only be impossible to take a rise in the price of labour of 7 per cent., but it would be impossible to take a rise of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. On the first supposition, a rise of only  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. would, if the price of the produce continued the same, absorb more than all the profits of the 100l.; and in the other case, much more than all the capital advanced. If, therefore, the prices of commodities, where the proportion of labour is very great compared with the capital which employs it, do not rise upon an advance of labour, the production of such commodities must at once be given up. But they certainly will not be given up. Consequently, upon a rise in the price of labour and fall of profits, there will be a large class of commodities which will rise in price; and it cannot be correct to say, (as Mr. Ricardo does,) " that no commodities whatever are raised in exchangeable value merely because wages rise: they are only so raised when wages fall, or when the medium in which they are estimated falls in value." It is quite certain, that merely because wages rise and profits fall, all that class of commodities (and it will be a large class) will fall in price, where, from the smallness of the capital employed, the fall of profits is in various degrees more than overbalanced by the rise of wages. What then becomes of the doctrine, that the exchangeable value of commodities is (uniformly) proportioned to the labour which has been employed upon them?' pp. 92—5.

Instead of the quantity of labour which has been employed in the production of an article, Mr. Malthus thinks that the quantity of common day-labour which any article will *command*, though not an accurate standard of real value in exchange, approaches the nearest of all commodities to a complete test. But,

as two objects might, in some cases, be a better measure than one alone, he suggests *a mean between corn and labour* as the best measure that can be adopted. On this, we have only to remark, that *different* measures would probably be found, in different cases, the most manageable in application, as well as the most accurate. The precious metals are confessedly a correct, and therefore in all respects the best measure of exchangeable value at the same time and place. And as to measuring the exchangeable value of commodities at different times and places, no standard can be fixed upon, that shall not be liable to be materially affected by the varied circumstances and habits of the population. In order to ascertain the exchangeable value of the same commodity in different countries at the same time and place—or in the same country at different times—or the rate at which two things would exchange with each other under either circumstance,—it might be found by no means requisite to employ the same test. Nor does it follow, as has been well remarked, that to point out the cause of relative value, is to afford us any additional facility in measuring it, or even in ascertaining *what it is*, when different times and countries are to be compared. We suspect that the inquiry is far more curious than practical, and that the notion which confounds exchangeable value with wealth, and identifies national wealth, in the sense of capital, absolutely with national prosperity, is what has given an undue importance to this branch of speculation.

We have still before us the following subjects as discussed in the remaining topics of Mr. Malthus's work: on Rent; on the Wages of Labour; on the Profits of Capital; on the immediate causes of the Progress of Wealth. To the contents of some of these we can now but very briefly advert: some of the topics will come more fully before us in noticing Mr. Prinsep's translation of the work of M. Say.

We have hitherto been occupied chiefly with verbal discussions, into which we regret that Mr. Malthus should have been induced to deviate by will o' the wisp *definitions*, which only seem to perplex and embarrass his subsequent inquiries. His chapter on the Rent of Land is highly valuable. Some writers, among whom is Mr. Ricardo, with that affectation of technical conciseness which is so fruitful a source of obscurity and disputation, choose to understand by the term Rent, in all cases, the rent of land, or 'that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil.' Whereas by Rent, as a general term, is understood the annual sum which is paid to a landlord or proprietor of fixed capital, whether it be land, mines, quarries, or buildings, for the use of his property. Mr. Ricardo admits, that Rent is often confounded with the interest and profit of

capital: the fact is, that it is under all circumstances the profit of capital, and a return for capital actually advanced. But, as land differs in certain essential qualities from every other species of property, so, agricultural rent differs from all other descriptions of rent in these two respects: first, that it includes what Mr. Ricardo would confine the word to, the portion of produce paid for the use of the productive powers of the soil, as well as a further portion paid for the use of the landlord's capital; secondly, that the productive powers of the soil being inalienable and inconsumable, the revenue derived from land is necessary,—in whatever way that revenue is finally distributed, and whatever portions of the surplus go to taxation, profits, and actual rental. The reason why any rent is paid for the use of the soil, is, as Mr. Ricardo justly states, that, unlike air and water, land, especially fertile land, exists only in definite and limited quantities; for no one would pay for the use of land where there was an abundance of it unappropriated, at the disposal of whoever might choose to cultivate it. This cannot, however, be with any truth assigned as the reason why land *yields* rent, while air and water do not, or why rent (considered as a surplus, not as a payment) exists. Neither is it correct to say, that a demand for the produce of land is the cause of the rent of land. 'The productive power of the soil,' remarks M. Say, 'has no value unless where its products are objects of demand.' We should rather say, its productive power is not, under those circumstances, called into existence; for, if it was, it must have a value, its being called into existence implying a demand for its products to a certain extent, and having a necessary tendency to create an extending demand. The absence of demand may be a reason why fresh land is not taken into cultivation, or why more capital is not laid out upon the land; but, as the existence of rent presupposes cultivation, it is not the demand that causes rent, otherwise than as it causes cultivation. M. Say probably means, that, till a certain market has been created, the use of the productive power of the soil does not acquire an exchangeable value, inasmuch as a sufficient stimulus is not afforded to cultivation. But still, it is cultivation, not demand, which originates rent. And the true reason why the earth, 'though not the only agent of nature which has a productive power, is the only one, or nearly so, that one set of men take to themselves to the exclusion of others,'—is, not that fertile soil is limited, but, that its fertility is not spontaneous,—that monopoly is an indispensable condition of its cultivation. 'Happily!' exclaims M. Say, 'no one has yet been able to say, The wind and the sun are mine, and the service which they render must be paid for.' But why have they not been able to say this? Purely because the productive powers of these natural agents do not require to

be appropriated in order to become effectively beneficial; do not require cultivation, and, in order to cultivation, the co-operation of capital.

Mr. Malthus having defined the Rent of land to be, 'the excess of the price of raw produce above the costs of production,' states its 'causes' to be three.

'First, and mainly, That quality of the earth by which it can be made to yield a greater portion of the necessaries of life than is required for the maintenance of the persons employed on the land.

'2dly, That quality peculiar to the necessaries of life, of being able, when properly distributed, to create their own demand, or to raise up a number of demanders in proportion to the quantity of necessaries produced.

'And, 3dly, The comparative scarcity of fertile land, either natural or artificial.

'The quality of the soil here noticed as the primary cause of the high price of raw produce, is the gift of nature to man. It is quite unconnected with monopoly, and yet is so absolutely essential to the existence of rent, that, without it, no degree of scarcity or monopoly could have occasioned an excess of the price of raw produce above what was necessary for the payment of wages and profits.

'But if no rent can exist without this surplus, and if the power of particular soils to pay rent be proportioned to this surplus, it follows that this surplus from the land, arising from its fertility, must evidently be considered as the foundation or main cause of all rent.

'Still, however, this surplus, necessary and important as it is, would not be sure of possessing a value which would enable it to command a proportionate quantity of labour and other commodities, if it had not a power of raising up a population to consume it, and, by the articles produced in return, of creating an effective demand for it.'

It strikes us, however, that Mr. Malthus has not, in this account of the causes of Rent used the word Rent, in a uniform sense. He, in the beginning of the chapter, defined the Rent of land to be 'that portion of the value of the whole produce which remains to the owner of the land, after all the outgoings belonging to its cultivation have been paid.' According to this statement, Rent in fact exists, when the owner and the cultivator is the same individual, and before the increase of demand has led, by occasioning a fall of profits, to a separation of the profits of capital from the rent. But if so, his second and third causes are not, strictly speaking, causes of Rent at all, but rather conditions of its assuming a high exchangeable value. The simple cause or source of the Rent of land, is the surplus which it affords, after replacing all that has been expended in its cultivation. The cause of 'the high price of raw produce,' is the limitation of the supply in relation to the demand.

That population and wealth strictly depend upon the quantity of the necessaries of life which the soil affords, is incontrovertible.

ible. For this reason, Mr. Malthus contends, that, ' if the fertility of all the lands in the world were to be diminished one half, a great part of the population and wealth of the world would be destroyed, and with it, a great part of the effective demand for necessaries.' The consequence of this would be, he adds, that ' the largest portion of the lands in most countries would be thrown completely out of cultivation; and wages, profits, and rents, particularly the latter, would be greatly diminished on all the rest.' One can hardly forbear smiling at the magnificent extravagance of such a supposition, which is brought in for the purpose, apparently, of establishing a truism. Mr. Malthus's intention, however, is to controvert Mr. Ricardo's statement, that ' a diminution of fertility of one tenth would increase rents by pushing capital upon less fertile land.' And certainly, one might rationally imagine, that, before a great part of the population quietly resigned themselves to destruction, less fertile land would be taken into cultivation.

' I think, on the contrary,' says Mr. M., ' that in any well-cultivated country it could not fail to lower rents, by occasioning the withdrawing of capital from the poorest soils. If the last land before in use would do but little more than pay the necessary labour and a profit of 10 per cent. upon the capital employed, a diminution of a tenth part of the gross produce would certainly render many poor soils no longer worth cultivating. And, on Mr. Ricardo's supposition, where, I would ask, is the increased demand and increased price to come from, when, from the greater quantity of labour and capital necessary for the land, the means of obtaining the precious metals, or any other commodities, to exchange for corn, would be greatly reduced?'

In a ' well cultivated,' that is, a *highly taxed* country, where taxation has the effect of virtually diminishing the fertility of the soil, the withdrawal of capital from the poorer soils, will, of course, be consequent on a fall of agricultural profits—whether occasioned by an increase in the cost of production, (the case supposed,) or a fall in the exchangeable value of the produce from other causes. But it seems to us, that a *general* diminution of the fertility of the soil, must of necessity raise the exchangeable value of the produce, so as to justify Mr. Ricardo's view of the case; and that so far from its leading to a withdrawal of capital from land, it would lead eventually to a rise of wages and a fall of profits in other branches of productive industry, which would occasion, an augmentation of agricultural capital.

The remaining sections of this chapter treat of the necessary separation of the rent of land from profits and wages; of the causes which tend to raise rents in the ordinary progress of society; and of the causes which tend to lower them; of the dependence of the actual quantity of produce obtained from the

land, upon the existing rents and the existing prices ; of the connexion between great comparative wealth and a high comparative price of raw produce ; of the causes which may mislead the landlord in letting his lands, to the injury of both himself and his country ; of the strict and necessary connexion of the interests of the landlord and of the State in a country which supports its own population ; of the connexion of these interests in countries importing corn ; and, in conclusion, are given some general remarks on the surplus portion of the land. In these sections, Mr. Malthus enters the lists with Mr. Ricardo, and disputes the ground he has taken on the subject almost inch by inch ; maintaining that ' the interest of no class is so nearly connected with the interests of the State as that of the landlord.' By the interests of the State, however, Mr. Malthus seems to understand the interests of the few, in opposition to those of the many—the State in opposition to the population ; for he admits that, while ' it is eminently the interest of those who live upon the rents of land, that capital and population should increase, to those who live upon the profits of stock and the wages of labour, an increase of capital and population is, *to say the least of it*, a much more doubtful benefit.' ' It may be most safely asserted,' he says, ' that the interest of no other class in the State is so nearly and necessarily connected with its *wealth and power*, as the interest of the landlord ; ' but, that the wealth and power of a State are generally in an inverse proportion to the happiness of the community, may be gathered from his very panegyric upon Rent. We scarcely know how to understand the following passage—whether as sober seriousness or profound irony.

' Among the inestimable advantages which belong to that quality in the land, which enables it to yield a considerable rent, it is not one of the least, that, in the progress of society, it affords the main security to man that nearly his whole time, or the time of nearly the whole society, shall not be employed in procuring mere necessaries. According to Mr. Ricardo, not only will each individual capital in the progress of society yield a continually diminishing revenue, but the whole amount of the revenue derived from profits will be diminished ; and *there is no doubt that the labourer will be obliged to employ a greater quantity of labour to procure that portion of his wages which must be spent in necessaries.* Both these great classes of society, therefore, may be expected to have less power of giving leisure to themselves, or of commanding the labour of those who administer to the enjoyments of society, as contra-distinguished from those who administer to its necessary wants. But, fortunately for mankind, the neat rents of the land, under a system of private property, can never be diminished by the progress of cultivation. Whatever proportion they may bear to the whole produce, the actual amount must always go on increasing.

and will always afford a fund for the enjoyments and leisure of the society, sufficient to leaven and animate the whole mass.

‘If the only condition on which we could obtain lands yielding rent, were, that they should remain with the immediate descendants of the first possessors, though the benefits to be derived from the present would no doubt be very greatly diminished, yet, from its general and unavoidable effects on society, it would be unwise to refuse it as of little or no value. But, happily, the benefit is attached to the soil, not to any particular proprietors. Rents are the reward of present valour and wisdom, as well as of past strength and cunning. Every day lands are purchased with the fruits of industry and talents. They afford the great prize, the “*otium cum dignitate*,” to every species of laudable exertion; and in the progress of society, there is every reason to believe, that, as they become more valuable from the increase of capital and population, and the improvements in agriculture, the benefits which they yield may be divided among a much greater number of persons.

‘In every point of view, then, in which the subject can be considered, that quality of land which, by the laws of our being, must terminate in rent, appears to be a boon most important to the happiness of mankind; and I am persuaded that its value can only be underrated by those who still labour under some mistake as to its nature and its effects on society.’ pp. 237—9.

A more gloomy, a more distressing view of the consequences of ‘the progress of society,’ could not, in our opinion, be presented. If it does not go the whole length of substantiating Mr. Ricardo’s assertion, ‘that the interest of the landlord is always opposed to that of the consumer and the manufacturer,’ (‘that is,’ remarks Mr. Malthus in animadverting upon it, ‘to all the other orders in the State,’) it at least represents that interest as the all-absorbing one which, in the progress of society, swallows up every other. It is true, that this is stated to be brought about as the necessary effect of an excessive augmentation of capital. The capitalist, therefore, is to be considered as the great nuisance. It is capital that presses down profits and wages; capital that stimulates the population to excess; capital that compels the labourer to double his exertions in order to obtain the necessities of life, leaving to three fourths of the community less and less power of giving leisure to themselves, or of commanding the labour of others. But then, ‘happily,’ for the remaining fourth of society comes in Rent—undiminished Rent—for the wise and the valiant, and the sons of the wise and the valiant,—this blessed boon of Rent, the spoil, literally the spoil, of those ‘great classes’ whom the progress of society has thrown further and further back from the *otium cum dignitate*, the leisure necessary, not only for comfort, but for moral improvement!! And is this all the consolation which Political Economy has to offer us?

' Star-lighted science, hast thou wandered there,  
' To waft us back the message of despair?'

Were this indeed a true picture, none need ' admire

' That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best  
' Deserve the precious bane.'

But, whether it be more philosophical or not, it strikes us as far more rational, to believe with M. Sismondi, that ' the social system is always wrong *somewhere*, when the greater part of the community are in a state of suffering.' The attempt to refer it to necessary circumstances and ' the laws of our being,' how specious soever, carries on its face the characters of an almost impious fallacy. To Mr. Malthus, for whose talents it would be quite superfluous for us to express that high respect which they universally command, we are far from imputing either sophistry or a want of benevolence. We consider his writings as the unimpassioned calculations of the closet philosopher, to whom mathematics and political science are alike matters of pure abstract reasoning. He is himself, as he good-humouredly remarks, neither a receiver, nor in the expectation of becoming a receiver of rents; he writes, therefore, under no bias of self-interest. Yet, we cannot, for all this, bring our minds to dwell with the least complacency on some of the doctrines he has propounded. We believe his view of the *natural* progress of society to be essentially erroneous; and this we shall endeavour to shew in resuming the general subject in reference more particularly to the disputes respecting the nature of demand and the necessity of consumption. For the present we must take leave of him.

Appended to Mr. Malthus's volume is a very complete and valuable summary of its contents, occupying seventy pages, as well as a full index. This is an admirable plan in a work of such a description. Both the pamphlets mentioned at the head of this article, are deserving of perusal. Of the "Observations," which is by far the most lively performance of the two, we have freely availed ourselves; and have only to wish that they had been a little less desultory. The Author is a literary sharp-shooter. The 'Inquirer' must learn to shorten his sentences, and contrive to get his notes into the text. Thirty-six notes to ninety pages is out of all proportion. His thoughts are sound, but want *fining*.

Art. VII. *The aged Minister's Encouragement to his younger Brethren.*

Two Sermons occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Thomas Scott, late Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks. By Daniel Wilson, A.M. &c. 8vo. pp. 90. London. 1821.

**T**HESSE Sermons will be read with a very lively interest. They comprise a biographical sketch of the public labours and latest days of the venerable and eminent individual to whom they relate, whose praise may with truth be said to be in all the churches. His invaluable commentary on the Scriptures, would of itself entitle him to rank at the head of modern Theologians as at once the most laborious and the most useful writer of his day. This immense undertaking had undergone his repeated revision; and the numerous alterations and additions which the latest editions received from his unwearied diligence, rendered the task equal to that of re-writing the work. The first edition, consisting of 5000 copies, was begun in 1788; a second edition of 2000 copies, appeared in 1805; a third, of the same number, in 1810; and a fourth, of 3000, in 1812. At the time of his death, he was superintending a stereotype edition, which is now passing through the press, and had finished the revision of it to nearly the end of the second Epistle of Timothy. Besides these, eight other editions, consisting altogether of 25,250 copies, have been printed in America. 'The local and temporary prejudices always attaching to a living writer,' having less force there, Mr. Wilson remarks, 'its value seems to have been at once acknowledged.' Its more extensive sale in the United States is, however, to be otherwise accounted for, by the greater cheapness of the work,\* and the open competition which takes place where the law of copy-right has no operation. The sale of the work in England since 1805, considering its bulk and price, must be allowed to be almost unprecedented, especially taking into calculation the almost numberless editions of Henry's Bible, Brown's Bible, and other standard works, together with more recent 'Family Bibles' by Fawcett, S. Burder, Mant and D'Oyley, &c. which have during the same period been offered to the public. We can easily imagine that there is a class in this country, to whom the venerable name of the Apologist for Calvinism would be offensive; but we much doubt if they are, in general, persons among whom the work itself, by whatever author, would be in much request. Among evangelical Christians of every denomination, Mr. Scott's labours have always been held in respectful and affectionate estimation.

\* It is difficult,' remarks Mr. Wilson, 'to form a just estimate of a work which cost its author the labour of thirty-three years. Its capital ex-

\* The Boston edition, 1815, was advertised to sell at 18 dollars.

cellency consists in its following more closely than perhaps any other the fair and adequate meaning of every part of Scripture without regard to the niceties of human systems. It is a scriptural comment. Its originality is likewise a strong recommendation of it. Every part of it is thought out by the author for himself, not borrowed from others.\* It is not a compilation; it is an original work, in which you have the deliberate judgment of a masculine and independent mind on all the parts of Holy Scripture. Every student will understand the value of such a production. Further, it is the comment of our age, furnishing the last interpretations which history throws on prophecy, giving the substance of the remarks which sound criticism has accumulated from the different branches of sacred literature, obviating the chief objections which modern annotators have advanced against the doctrines of the Gospel, and adapting the instructions of Scripture to the particular circumstances of the times in which we live. It is again the work of one who was at home in what he did. It was the very undertaking which required, less than any other work, what he did not possess, and demanded more than any other, what he did—it required a matured knowledge of Scripture, skill as a textuary, sterling honesty, a firm grasp of truth, unfeigned submission of mind to every part of the inspired records, unparalleled diligence and perseverance—and these were the very characteristics of the man. When to these particulars it is added, that he lived to superintend four editions, each enriched with much new and important matter, and had been engaged above three years in a new one, in which, for the fifth time, he had nearly completed a most laborious revision of the whole work, we must at least allow its extraordinary importance.'

The claims of this excellent man to the merit of distinguished usefulness as a writer, do not, however, rest entirely on his great Biblical undertaking. His "Force of Truth," (first published in 1779,) which is known to have been the means of recovering Henry Kirke White from infidelity, has been of the most important service to the cause of religion. His "Essays" are an admirable work, and in every respect worthy of the Author, whose distinguishing merit, perhaps, is judiciousness and clearness in the exposition of Scripture doctrines. His earlier writings, namely, his treatises on Repentance, Growth in Grace, and Faith, his sermon on Election, and his volume of Discourses, published between the years 1785 and 1797, had for their chief object to rescue the Evangelical doctrines from the reproach or the admixture of Antinomianism. The rest of his smaller works consist of an Answer to Paine, and other tracts in reply to infidel writers, Notes on the Pilgrim's Progress, a Reply to the Rabbi

\* The later editions are enriched with brief and valuable quotations from most writers of credit—but the substance of the work is his own; and the first edition contained scarcely a single passage of any other author.

Joseph Crook, in vindication of the Messiahship of Christ, occasional sermons, and detached papers in periodical works. To these are to be added, his elaborate Remarks on Bishop Tomline's Refutation of Calvinism,\* and his History of the Synod of Dort.† Speaking of the "Essays on the most important Subjects," above adverted to, and his reply to the *soi-disant Refuter* of Calvinism, Mr. Wilson says, in a note:

"These two last works appear to me incomparable, the one for the plain exposition, the other for the acute and masterly defence of truth. The *comment*, he adds, "should be a part of a student's constant reading. To turn to a few controversial pages, can afford no fair criterion of its merits. I can safely say, that after regularly consulting it for above five and twenty years, it rises continually in my esteem."

"Perhaps it is only fair to add, that his style is heavy and redundant, and that a want of clearness and method prevails in some of his productions, especially in his Sermons and his first edition of the Remarks."

In his *Commentary*, however, "where he had only to follow the order of thought in the sacred book, the faults of method and style which detract from some of his other writings, are," Mr. Wilson remarks, "less apparent;" and in his *Essays* they are by no means prominent.

The Rev. Thomas Scott was born at Braytoft near Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1747. He was ordained deacon in 1772. The commencement of his faithful labours as a minister, may be dated from 1775, 6. He entered on the curacy of Olney in 1780; was chosen chaplain to the Lock Hospital, in 1785; and presented to the small rectory of Aston Sandford in 1801. Of the Lock Asylum, he was the entire founder; he was, for the first two years, secretary to the Church Missionary Society; and was among the earliest friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as of the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. He expired at Aston Sandford, after a long illness, on the 16th of April, 1821, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. A detailed narrative of his life, compiled partly from materials written by himself, is stated to be in preparation by one of his sons, of whom he has left three, all clergymen. The obituary contained in the second of these sermons, is highly instructive and affecting.

Mr. Wilson finds himself compelled to assume, in the close of his remarks, the tone of apology and the language of vindication, in reference to the *opprobrium* cast upon his venerable

\* Eclectic Review. O.S. Vol. vii. p. 399.

† Eclectic Review. N.S. Vol. xii. p. 452.

friend in common with others of the Evangelical clergy, as a *Calvinist*. 'The charge of Calvinism has, strange to say, become within these last few years, a favourite topic of declamation.' But surely, this is a charge of much longer standing. It may, now and then, be revived with fresh vehemence, when a man wants to work his way to the Episcopal Bench, or when an individual of peculiar temperament gets enthroned upon it. But the charge must have been a pretty frequent subject of declamation, when Bishop Horsley many years ago cautioned his clergy, before they ventured on attacking Calvinism, to understand what Calvinism is. What does it signify, however, whether the Evangelical clergy are reviled as Calvinists, or as Bible men, or as Gospellers, or even as Puritans? If 'the present names of reproach were forgotten,' as Mr. Wilson justly observes, others 'would be invented.' After remarking that against many important particulars in the theology of Calvin (we were not aware there were 'many,') Mr. Scott himself protested in his *Remarks*, Mr. W. says:

'It would be an act of injustice in me not to add, that the Commentary of Calvin on different parts of Scripture is an eminently judicious and practical work. After two centuries and a half, it remains unrivalled in all the grand characteristics of a sound, and perspicuous, and holy exposition of the Sacred Book.'

A similar testimony was borne to the great Reformer by Bishop Horsley; nor will the praise of being the most classical of modern Latinists, as well as the most judicious of commentators, be denied him, except through the veriest bigotry or ignorance. The merits and the character of Calvin are, however, matters of subordinate interest. The doctrines reviled as Calvinistic, are common to the most eminent of both the Continental and the English Reformers. 'Would our Reformers,' asks Mr. Wilson, 'have framed the eighty-seven Questions now imposed in the diocese of Peterborough? Or would the Author of those eighty-seven Questions have drawn up the thirty-nine Articles?' Assuredly not. Those Articles have, manifestly, too Calvinistic a complexion to comport with the ideas or answer the purpose of the right reverend prelate; and yet, they are, confessedly, Calvinism in its mildest form. The points in dispute, Mr. Wilson is well aware, are not such as are peculiar to Calvinism: they are the vital doctrines of the Gospel, and there is nothing strange in their being unpalatable.

That Mr. Wilson is, in the best sense, a Calvinist, although he may disavow the appellation as a party name, we cannot entertain a doubt. For this reason, we regret that he has fallen, as it appears to us, from excess of caution, into an unguarded style of expression in the following passage.

Since, therefore, we find only a *very few thinly scattered texts on the subject of the secret will of God*; but almost innumerable series of texts, yea, whole books of Scripture on other topics—on the fall and corruption of man, repentance, faith, the grace and mercy of God, the person and sacrifice of Christ, humility, love, peace, forgiveness of injuries, &c. &c. we endeavour to follow this order of instruction in our ministry. But then we cannot, we dare not wholly conceal any part of Scripture, or allow it to be, in its place, either useless or dangerous; nor can we soften or explain away the express and continually recurring truths of salvation, in order to avoid *that humiliating doctrine of the Divine grace* into which no doubt they ultimately flow.'

Will Mr. Wilson bear with us when we say, that there is a want of explicitness in the terms which he has selected, which renders his language somewhat equivocal. It is by no means clear what he intends by 'the subject of the secret will of God,' and 'the humiliating doctrine of the grace of God.' If, by the former, he intends what is commonly but rather technically called the Divine decrees, and by the latter, the doctrine of Irresistible Grace, we quite agree with him, that a sacred reverence, a preponderating caution, and a constant reference to the devout uses of the doctrines, are the only proper manner in which they can be approached. But the humiliating doctrine of Divine Grace, so far from being intimated in a few thinly scattered texts, pervades, as he will readily admit, the entire system of Christian doctrine; we regret, therefore, that it should seem to be set in contrast, in this respect, to the topics of the fall of man, faith, repentance, &c., which are stated to occupy the substance of Scripture: we regret that, in that enumeration, the fundamental doctrines of regeneration and transformation by the Spirit of God, should seem to be slurred over under the vague terms, the mercy and the grace of God. It is our solemn conviction, that no preaching is adapted to promote the great ends of the Evangelical ministry, in which these doctrines are not explicitly, boldly, and constantly maintained.

With regard to the doctrine of Election, disengaged from the technicalities of any theological school, and from the consequences rashly deduced from it, we cannot consent to the representation that it is adapted only to excite 'a fearful awe.' The view which is taken of it in the Seventeenth Article, is widely different. It is there stated, that the 'godly consideration of 'Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons'; although its abuse by 'curious and carnal persons' is pointed out and deprecated. And this view accords with the purpose for which it is uniformly introduced in the Apostolic writings. The expression — a 'few thinly scattered texts,' is adapted to convey a delusion

idea of the peculiar manner in which the sacred writers refer to the subject in question—not dogmatically, not with preponderating caution and fearful awe, not even (if we may say so) guardedly; but incidentally, as to truths fully known and believed, and the holy tendency of which had not yet been questioned,—and in the language of gratulation, as to a doctrine fraught with unspeakable comfort. The texts which more or less distinctly imply this doctrine, are by no means thinly scattered, although, owing to the incidental manner in which the most important doctrines of Revelation are conveyed, the passages may be comparatively few which can be pressed into the service of the controvertist. And if it be true, that innumerable series of texts, and whole books, treat of the fall of man, repentance, &c. it is equally true, that not one of these subjects is treated without a continual reference to the doctrines of Divine Grace, which are scattered, indeed, over the sacred pages, but it is as the rays of light are scattered over a wide surface. It is remarkable too, that the strongest and most striking enunciations of the more mysterious and offensive doctrines, (as they are deemed,) occur in connexion with practical exhortations,—in enforcing ‘humility, ‘love, peace, forgiveness,’ &c., the topics which Mr. Wilson seems to oppose to them. The error of opposite theologians consists in separating them—in dwelling exclusively on certain doctrinal points, as detached dogmas, on the one hand, as if their use terminated in believing them; or in endeavouring, on the other hand, to expound the Christian scheme, and to enforce the Christian morality, without the aid of the considerations and *motives* deducible from those points of doctrine, to which it is thought enough to pay the occasional homage of a fearful reverence, or a formal avowal of assent.—In these sentiments, the estimable Author of these Sermons would, we persuade ourselves, concur, although his language is liable, we fear, to be misrepresented.

As these Sermons are likely to be very soon in the hands of most of our readers, we deem it quite unnecessary to make any further extracts; but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing into our pages, the conclusion of some ‘Hints for ‘promoting a revival of religion,’ from a discourse on Rom. xv. 29. by this venerable friend, which are thrown into an appendix.

‘A great deal of Gospel truth may be preached and little good done, because we do not fairly use all the means in addressing and calling on sinners to repent and turn to God. We do not expect this fulness of blessing, and are satisfied without it. There is a littleness in our faith and conception of things. We do not ask nor expect this fulness, we have no idea of it, it does not enter our minds. Can we wonder, then, that the Lord says to us, ‘According to thy faith be it unto thee?’ But the Apostles went forth and expected and asked a

fulness of blessing. When a man is in earnest, nothing will satisfy him but this. Others may be satisfied without success. They may go through a formal set of observances, and be contented; instead of examining their ministry and their whole conduct, and saying, ' Show me wherefore thou contendest with me ' If we can be satisfied without this enlarged blessing, certainly we shall never have it. If a man says, I have a large, attentive congregation; I have a good income; the people are obliging; my circumstances are comfortable—he is in a most dangerous state. It is the same as if a fisherman should be satisfied because he has a good net and pleasant companions and fair weather, though he comes home empty. If any thing but usefulness will satisfy us, I do not wonder we are not useful. We must thank God for this and that thing; but nothing must satisfy us but the conversion of sinners.

' Our faithfulness and earnestness are more in the pulpit than in the closet. We preach Christ as if in earnest, and we go and pray as if not in earnest. There is but little wrestling with God for a blessing. There is a want of the spirit of prayer. Sometimes this may arise from humility; but it is a false one. St. Paul was most humble: yet most earnest in prayer, most persevering, most importunate; and so he obtained a fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ.

' There is a want of that holy heavenly temper and that general circumspection of conduct, which would make us patterns of good works. Our example may not be dishonourable; but is it so honourable to the Gospel as it might be? Our example is not a scandal; but can we say with the Apostle, ' I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel?' Can we say, ' Ye know how holily and justly and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe?' Do we embody Christianity? Do we not only put a copy before others and leave them to write, but take the pen and show them how to form each letter? Are we men of God; heavenly, disinterested, dead to the pleasures, interests, and honours of this world? What would Paul say, if he were to come amongst us? Would he not have reason to say, ' All seek their own, none the things that are Jesus Christ's?' ' Are we not fishers of ease, fame, money; rather than fishers of men?' p. 89, 90.

## ART. VIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

••• Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.

Wm. Haygarth, Esq. is preparing for the press, the History of the Roman Empire, from the accession of Augustus, to the death of the younger Antoninus, which is expected will not exceed two quarto volumes.

Mr. Charles Marsh has in the press, the Life of the late Rt. Hon. William Wyndham, comprising interesting correspondence, and the memoirs of his time.

Mr. T. C. Hansard is printing in a 4to volume, an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Printing; including the process of stereotyping, and of lithographic printing.

Mr. James Henderson will soon publish, a copious History of Brasil, in 4to., with thirty plates and maps.

Dr. Alex. Henderson is preparing for publication, in a quarto volume, the History of Ancient and Modern Wines.

Dr. Adam Dods will soon publish, the Physician's Guide, being a popular dissertation on Fevers, Inflammations, and all diseases connected with them.

Mr. William James has in the press, the Naval History of Great Britain, from 1793 to 1820, in four octavo volumes, with a separate volume of tables.

Speedily will be published, the essentials of Geography, or Geography adapted to the most essential Maps of modern Geography, and also to the Maps of ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, and Canaan, for the use of Classical, Commercial, and Ladies' Schools; with a preface containing observations on Mr. Pinkerton's and Dr. Butler's Geographies, and directions for using this. To which is added, a pronouncing Index to the Greek, Latin, and Scripture proper names. By the author of the Essentials of English Grammar, Lindley Murray examined, &c. &c.

Early next month will be published, a Treatise on the Game of Chess; including the games of the anonymous Modouese, and the *Traité des Amateurs*, and containing many remarkable situations, ori-

ginal as well as selected. By John Cochrane, Esq. in one large vol. 8vo. illustrated by numerous diagrams, and an engraved frontispiece.

Mr. S. P. Gray has in the press, in two octavo volumes, a natural arrangement of British Plants, preceded by an introduction to Botany.

Dr. James Miller has nearly ready to appear, Practical Observations on Cold and Warm Bathing; with an account of the principal watering places in Scotland and England.

Dr. Dickinson has in the press, the Medical Student's *Vade Mecum*, being a work in the form of question and answer.

Mr. Thomas Webb is printing, in royal octavo, a Greek and English Prosodial Lexicon, with synonyms and examples, marked and scanned in the manner of the Latin *Gradus*.

A Treatise of the Principles of Bridges by suspension, with reference to the catenary, and exemplified by the cable bridge now in progress over the Strait of Menaj, will soon appear.

Professor Danbar is preparing a third edition of his Greek Exercises, with considerable additions, and a key for the use of teachers. Also a new edition of Dalzel's *Collectanea Majora*, Vol. 1, including extracts from Euripides and Plato, not in the former editions.

Shortly will be published, a Reprint of that very rare and curious little Manual, Arthur Warwick's "Spare Minutes," or Resolved Meditations and pre-meditated Resolutions. This edition will be printed in super-royal 16mo. with fac-similes of the singular emblematical frontispieces, and the explanatory Poems of Francis Quarles and George Withers.

The Rev. Robert Hall has in the press, a new edition of his "Apology for the Freedom of the Press," with additions.

The Third Report of the Serampore Native Schools has been published in London, and may be had gratis of Black, Kingsbury, and Co.

Preparing for publication, a corrected edition in octavo, of the Life of Colley Cibber, with additional notes, &c. By Mr. E. Bellchambers.

In the press, The Triple Aim: or the Improvement of leisure, friendship, and intellect, attempted in epistolary correspondence. 1 Vol. 8vo.

In the press, in one volume, small 8vo. Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions, and on other Subjects.

Preparing for the press, Pocket Anecdotes, with brief Notes subjoined. By the Rev. James Churchill. N. B. any communications for the work from the Editor's friends, will be gladly received, addressed 13, Prince's-street, Soho.

Mr. A. Maxwell, the Author of "Plu-

rality of Worlds, or letters, notes, and memoranda, philosophical and critical," in reply to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, is now preparing for the press, a translation from the Latin, of "Conamen recuperandi Notitiam Principiorum Veteris et Veteris Philosophiae," &c. By A. S. Catcott, L. L. B. or, an Attempt to recover the principles of the ancient and true philosophy, collected from the sacred writings, and lately explained by the eminent John Hutchinson, Esq. With a new preface, and many additional notes, and illustrated by plates, which clearly elucidate the different phenomena connected with the annual and diurnal motions of the earth.

## ART. IX. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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### *Erratum in the present Number.*

At page 43, for *equis* read *æquis*.

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The Title Page, Index, and Contents to Vol. XV. will be given with the next Number.